37

1921

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

601 – 724

1921

H. F. M

Extract from the

Report on English and Vernacular Newspapers for the year 1921

Pages 601 — 724.

21st May to 18th June 1921

IV. NATIVE STATES.

Boycott of Christians.

87. In its article on the 'Boycott of Christians' the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 25th April, makes among others the following remarks:- "To give India freedom and safety and all prosperity -- is this the object of the British Government -- The Government ~~(very well the discuss)~~ that with selfish objects secretly aid Christian missonaries? Indians remember very well the discussion in Parliament long ago on the subject of sending missionaries to India and China and the observations made by some Ministers on the occasion. Indians discovered even then what approximately was the secret object of the British Government. Indians have understood the real explanation of the joy of the British people in the annexation of Palestine, the enthusiastic endeavours of the British to destroy altogether the Khilafat which is as their own soul to the Islamic world, and the cunning devices of the British to demolish the Ottoman Empire. Yet, Indians have understood the object underlying these manifestations. .. .. .. Is it of their own accord or with the support of Missionaries and Christians that the Government of India made the Hindu Government of Cochin to imitate their own policy of repression against the Khilafat --- a policy that generates internnal pangs in Muhammadan hearts? .. .. .. Of Course, there is a separate section of pet subjects of the British Government. They are the Christians; and their god-fathers are the missionaries. We need not co-operate even for a moment with the Government which crushes our strength and freedom (Even religious freedom), and with those Christians."

For the week ending 28th May 1921.

NO.22 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. Writing under the heading "Witchery by Daylight", the WEST COAST REFORMER, of the 13th May, observes:-"May,

Non-co-operation.

"Malabar has sometimes been spoken of as the land of sorcery. .. .. A new species of withcraft which does not observe the secrecy of the other and unlike the milder and more congenial and harmless form of it.practised by moon-light by Coleridge has now sprung into existence. The magical cant of this new form of witchcraft bolder in ambition and most disastrous in consequences is a combination of two innocent words of non-co-operation. The chanting of this MANTRAM seems to have a very deleterious effect on the sanity of the human mind. The origin of this method is undoubtedly political. It seems to be gradually putting forth its hands from one department to another. .. .. Our notions of law have come to be controlled by the dominant interests of the day and the democratic theory has grown to such unmanageable proportions as to make even the most fantastic proposition put on the colour of legitimate aspiration tasted by the touch-stone of democracy, political science can find no more treahcerous word than democracy which within well-defined limits is a healthy principle, but in its extreme forms is nothing short of socialism or even Bolshevism.

The prevailing tendency to condone all sings in the name of Democracy is probably responsible for the lukewarm attitude of the Government towards the objectionable form of witchcraft, passing muster under the name of non-co-operation. We consider that the time is come for taking active steps to remove this political weed from out of the Indian garden, and we hope

in the light of instances of violence reported from different quarters that the Government will wake up to the seriousness of the situation.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Indians in Fiji.

2. Remarking that the Loud declarations of the British, that their object is to do away entirely with slavery and the miseries attendant thereon, are true only so far as themselves and people of their colour are concerned but false in regard to the Indians, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th May, observes:- Of all the lands in this world that may be said to be civilized, this is the only country from which men are being sent to foreign countries like slaves, to work as coolies and die there. There exist many associations for the purpose of sending 'indentured labourers' in large numbers to foreign countries, which are run by Europeans, and we cannot help saying that the Government are lending their active support to them. This is one of the evils of subjection to a system of irresponsible Government. Of the lands to which the Indians are thus sent as slaves, the Fiji Islands are the most important. Mr. C.F. Andrews, who has seen with his own eyes the great hardships endured by the Indians in the Fiji, has often written about the evils of the indenture system and it is the Government of India that have been responsible for the situation prevailing there. It is said the indenture system has ceased to exist as a result of Mr. Andhrews having acquainted Lord Chelmsford with the true state of affairs. But there is no diminution of crime among the Indians that still remain in Fiji. They have still to work and die as slaves. Martial law was put into operation against those who recently struck work on account of the inadequacy of wages and many Indians were shot down. Unable to endure all these hardships, they have now begun

to return to their mother-land, and every steamer is bringing in crowds of these poor people. But nothing has been done by the Government for their relief, especially when they went to Fiji only under the inducement offered by the authorities and are now returning with afflicted hearts.

4. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th May, observes:- Though the Indians rank second in regard to number in the Malay States and their industry has been mainly responsible for the fertility of the country, it appears from an article contributed by a correspondent to the SUDHARMA of this week that they are still victims of repression. Some time back exception seems to have been taken by the British resident there to a condolence meeting having been held in connextion with the late Mr. Tilak, and he appears to have ordered the President of the meeting to return the sums collected for a memorial to the persons concerned and to refrain from acting in this matter any more. Thus, wherever we may go, we are being treated with contempt. But, if it happens to be a British country we lose even the ordinary rights of human beings. A correspondent to the YOUNG INDIA observes that the condition of our countrymen in Mesopotamia is worse than that in Africa and Guiana and that the Arabs and the British, are, as usual, treating them worse than dogs. When are Indians going to attain equality with the other nations?

Treatment of Indians outside India.

6. Remarking that the condition of the Indians in the Colonies is very bad and that they suffer most hardships, especially in countries within the British Empire, the TAMIL NADU, of the 8th May, points to the promise of the Government of South Africa to remedy the grievances of the Indians there, if the SATYAGRAHA started by Mr. Gandhi were stopped, having

Indians in South Africa.

having shared the same fate as the promises of Mr. Lloyd George, and, generalising that it has become common for the British Ministers to promise many things just to escape from a critical situation and to forget it after the stress is over, observes:- This situation is no better now in South Africa than what it was before, and the whites there seem now to be bent upon driving away the Indians from there. Even the Report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Colonial Government shows that it was brought into existence, only to accuse Indians of ever so many defects and drive them out; It is, however, foolish on the part of the members of the Commission to think that they could cheat the world so easily. The whites in Africa are scandalizing the Indians with the inner motive of keeping the Indians as coolies and slaves and of sending away those who claim equal status with them. The British Government are unable to prevent the atrocities committed by these whites because they have not the courage to interfere in the internal affairs of the colonies. The people of India again, being themselves slaves to foreigners, are not in a position to teach a lesson to the whites and redress the grievances of their brethren. The whites would never dare to treat our brethren with such contempt, if we were also free like others. The statement of Mr. Duncan, at a recent meeting of the Legislative Council at Cape Town, that it would mean a bad plight for the people of South Africa, if India should get out of the British Empire, shows that our continuance as slaves is due to our being within the British Empire,.. Every Indian should realise the truth of the words of Mr. Andrews that so long as we are under the British Empire, we cannot enjoy equal rights with the whites, and it is on this account that Congress at Nagpur has modified its resolution. We should understand that it is only when we obtain complete SWARAJ that we can get rid of the difficulties we undergo here and the hardships suffered by our brethren in foreign countries and follow the lead given by the Congress to obtain SWARAJ.

9. Adverting to the bad treatment said to be accorded

The Indians in East Africa.

to the Indians demiciled in East Africa by the Government of that place, and to the news that the conference composed of the representatives of the Indians and European residents therein said to have been held there for considering the grievances of the former, has not resulted in any good, the DRAVIDAN, of the 19th May, remarks:- The 'whites' residing there are so blindly obstinate that they will not agree to arbitration in this matter. The Indians claim equal communal representation along with the European colonists. But the latter have refused to recognize the qualification of English Education for our brethren in connexion with representation. Our Government should see that our brethren (in connexion with representation) are granted at least the five seats claimed by them in the Legislative Assembly of that Country. Considering the very large number of our countrymen resident therein, we should indeed say that this number is quite inadequate. It is only our Indian brethern that saved East Africa in the late European war, and there was also a talk then that East Africa should be reserved for the Indians. But now even the most elementary rights are denied to them! It is a matter for great regret that these low-minded 'whites' of East Africa should attempt to set at nought even the fundamental and just rights of the Indians. We, therefore, request the Government of India to protect our brethren there and render justice to them.

12. Referring to the suggestion of the Prime Minister

The Imperial Conference and Status of Indians in foreign countries.

of Canada that much importance need not be given to the subject of the Status of Indians in foreign countries at the next Imperial Conference, the MANORAMA, of the 20th May, points out that the opinion of the Indians is that this question should have been considered even before Indians were given the privilege of becoming members of the conference and

~~members of the conference and~~ participating in its deliberations and observes that Indian representatives should without paying heed to the suggestion of the Prime Minister of Canada, press this matter at the next conference, as Indians are treated worse than slaves by Europeans in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The conduct of the Police at Ottapalam.

14. Remarking that the conduct of the Police at Ottapalam only indicates the downfall of the bureaucrats, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 14th May, observes:- The doings of the British soldiers in Ireland are supposed to be done with the intention of ~~giving~~ avenging the cruel acts committed by the Sinn Feiners. But the Atrocities committed by the Police at Ottapalam are not for avenging any harm done by the people. Their object seems to have been only to provoke the people and convert Malabar into another Punjab. But there are none here even to say that these are all unjust acts. The Madras Government too remain silent on this point. The fact that no English paper in Madras, except the HINDU, published the report of the Non-Official Committee on this subject or commented thereon makes us doubt whether they are also involved in the conspiracy of the Malabar Officials. It is clear from the report that the authorities let loose the Police on the peaceful people of Ottapalam like the setting of hounds on lambs, as a result of which, the Police committed rioting and looting and attacked and wounded the people. There is not the slightest doubt whatever that their doings were all pre-mediated. The authorities who imprisoned Mr. Yakub Hasan and others a few months ago said that the people of Malabar were of a highly inflammable character and this statement was accepted as true by the Madras Government also. But the people there remained

peaceful without losing their patience, in spite of the provocations offered by the authorities. The statement of the authorities in Malabar and the conclusion of the Madras Government have thus been falsified. It is only with a view to confirm their statement that the authorities there gave a free hand to the Police to provoke the people to violence. The Police acted accordingly and tried their patience in innumerable ways, practically there can be no doubt that the authorities started a war against the Khilafat workers. The object of the Police in handling badly a religious head of the Muslims can only be to rouse the anger of the Moplahs and to create a disturbance. There is no doubt that the excesses of the Police, are, therefore, the outcome of a conspiracy among the Collector, the District Superintendent of Police and the other bureaucratic demi-gods. What have Lord Willingdon and his evil-minded Ministers done for this so far? The correspondent to the MADRAS MAIL also bears testimony to the incidents at Ottapalam. The Ottapalam Enquiry Committee raised the quiestions whether, if the Police had committed unlawful acts of their own accord, the district authorities made an enquiry into the matter and wished to know the nature of the report send by them to the Madras Government and the action taken thereon by the latter. There has been no reply whatever to these questions till now. If this be the new method of administration of justice followed by the reformed Government of Madras, we will only say that such a method should be done away with. We cannot say how long the people of Malabar will remain patient, if the Government should continue to tolerate such Acts. The collector of Malabar has followed the policy adopted by O'Dwyer in the Punjab, and if the Government also should support it, we cannot say that the result will be. But the Government will themselves be responsible for it.

(k) General.

25. Adverting to the long Interview Mr. Gandhi is said to have had with the Viceroy, the ~~DE~~ SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th May, remarks:-

Lord Reading and non-co-operators.

Even though Lord Reading has not been able to ~~to da~~ any ~~distinct~~ district good after his arrival in India, he has not committed any great blunder. He may, perhaps, be blamed for the fact that he did not, when he visited the Punjab , grant an interview to Mr. Lala Lajput Rai. Even that mistake can be easily rectified, as Mr. Lajpat Rai has now gone to Simla. Whether Lord Reading's intention is really to do good the England and India must only be gauged from the manner in which he is going to conduct himself now. If he meets the leaders of Indian opinion, converses with them and acts according to their advice, he will be considered to have rendered real help to India. There is no ground for fearing that the Indians- leaders are revolutionaries. The Viceroy should bear in mind the words of Mr. Muhammad Ali who said that he (Lord Reading) should not imagine that all others except himself were/irresponsible agitaors, that the Government should not be grateful to the Congress and Mr. Gandhi for preaching to the people the principle of non-violence and for thus preventing them from committing high-handed acts, and that, there was no bloodshed in India not because of the huge army maintained by the Government but because of the non-co-operation movement of Mr. Gandhi. Our words will clearly be brought home to His Excellency's mind, if a comparison be made between the manner in which the subjects are fighting for their freedom in Egypt, Ireland and Mesopotamia, and that in which India is carrying on the struggle. It will be a serious delusion on the part of the authorities to think that either in regard to keennessof intellect, sense of honour or patriotism, the Indians lag behind the Egyptian or other. This, indeed, is the secret of the resolutions of the National Congress and the root-principle of Mr. Gandhi's teachings.

If Lord Reading should assist Indiaxin achieving victory by this new method of non-violent-non-co-operation, it will indeed be a great service done by him not only to India but to the whole world. Will he be bold enough to do so?

Referring to the above subject, the HINDU NESAN, of the 16th May, writes:- We have already pointed out that it is good that Lord Reading should invite the leaders of non-co-operation and of other parties and confere with them about the present situation and tis suggestion is being acted upon now. Even though many persons are expecting that good will result from this interview, it rests with the non-co-operators alone whether it will be xaix realised. It is clear that the idea of the Viceroy is that India should advance like other countries and that the Indians should win SWARAJ and live happily, and it is for the non-co.-operators to realise clearly the present circumstances and comparing their strength withh that of their opponent, detailed a programme making for an amicable understanding.

Reverting to this subject, the HINDU NESAN, of the 17th May, says:- Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that his visit to the Viceroy may be deemed to be both successful and unsuccessful. We do not know which conclusion we are to rely upon. In the present state of India, no room whatever, should be given for excesses. In this land where peace and harmony were prevailing for centuries it is not proper to have recourse to methods which will result in bloodshed. Sir Maneckjee Dadaboy has decried non-co-operation as a poison that would destroy India's peace an d, in course of time, impair the loyalty of the Public. May Provindence v vouchsafe grace to the Viceroy so that he may bear in mind Sir Maneckjee's opinion, consider well the present situation and render justice in such a way as to do good to India by warding off the danger resulting from non-co-operation!

In a leading article under the heading, 'the Viceroy and non-co-operation' the MITAVADI (Moderate Advocate), of the 23rd May repeats that it is futile to talk peace with the non-

cops' and suggests the adoption of a 'policy of conciliation cum repression', the adoption without any the least delay of the policy of enunciated by Sir William Vincent in the Imperial Assembly. It points out that what is wanted is firmness and conciliation which have already had a soothening effect in Malabar and that what the pople want is "self-govennment by east stages and not Gandhi-government or a Muhammad Ali Ministry based on Bolshevist ideals and completely alien to the feelings or sentiments of the real public."

Lord Reading and non-co-operation.

Adverting to the Interview of the Viceroy with the leaders of non-co-operation and to the news that the Provincial Governors have been invited to confer with the Viceroy in connextion with the present extraordinary situation in the country, the DRAVIDAN, of the 17th May, observes:- It is not enough to consult these persons alone. It is very essential that he should consult the real leaders and the true representatives of the children of the soil. Even though there has been no occasion for it till now, it should be done now, as there is a likelihood of great changes being effected in the present system of administration. The Viceroy has clearly explained the object with which action has been taken against rioters and agitators. If, however, he sees that the reforms are properly carriedout, we think that, that, by itself, will turn the hatred of the people against non-co-operation and put an end to that mistaken movement. We hope His Excellency the Viceroy will succeed in his attemps to bring round the non-co-operators by pointing out to them the proper attitude they should adopt.

P.A.

Mr. Frank Johnson.

27. Referring to the question put by Colonel Wedgwood to the Secretary of State for India whether Mr. Frank Johnson had been given any lincee , by the Government of India, to extract and trade in kerosene oil in Baluchistan, Assm, the Punjab and Burma and to the reply of Mr. Montagu that no licence had been

issued so far as Baluchistan and Assam were concerned and that he had no information with regard to the Punjab, and Burma, the TAMIL NADU, of the 8th May, observes:- We cannot see why information has not reached Mr. Montagu with regard to the two latter places, while he has had information with regard to the former. Perhaps, Mr. Montagu thinks it would be an act of statesmanship to keep this matter secret. From the fact of the currency of a rumour about this for a long time from the unsatisfactory answer given by Mr. Montagu we have to conclude that the Government have issued the licence in question as a reward to this monster for the cruel deeds committed by him in the Punjab.

R.A.

28. The present situation. Referring to the statement of Lord Reading that he wished to have the privilege of redressing the grievances of the Indian people and that he intended to form definite conclusions only after acquainting himself with facts and consulting the leaders of all parties, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th May observes:- As expected by all, Lord Reading has conferred with Pundit Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi and the people are anxiously awaiting its result. But the bureaucrats and their new friends, the moderates, are doing their level best to prevent India from attaining true SWARAJ and to establish their own authority and power and are bent upon diverting the attention of Lord Reading by creating an acute situation in the country as is usual with them. The bureaucrats are resorting to repressive measures th-throughout the country against the poor propagandists, leaving off leaders unde whose orders they are doing the work, and the Ministers also are privy to this. The Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to some parts of the Punjab and the United Provinces and the LEADER of Allahabad is gloating over the fact that the collections for the anti-non-co-operation fund exceed those of ~~(the Rx fact and that the collections for the anti-non-)~~

the Tilak SWARAJ fund. It is for Lord Reading to consider whether the misapplication, by the authorities, of sections 107 and 144 Criminal Procedure Code, for suppressing popular movements is in keeping with British justice.

30. Adverting to the news that the rights of the non-Brahmans in connexion with the Madura temple are not properly attended.

TheMadura Devastanam and the Non-Brahmans.

to and that the persons, who worked hard to secure the same, were subjected to great hardships and to the petitions that are said to have been presented to His Excellency the Governor by the aforesaid persons as also the Brahmans, the DRAVIDIAN, of the 16th May, expects the Government to bestow proper consideration on the petition of the non-Brahmans and render justice in this matter.

32. Remarking that the Government of India are restoring resorting to a cruel form of repression to put down the

The Government and non-co-operation.

non-co-opeation movement, even ladies being prohibited from speaking on such non-political subjects as education, and religious workers, the TAMIL NADU, of the 8th May refers to the prohibition under section 144, Cr.P.C. of a lecture on "Dharma" by Swami Sankaracharlyar of the Sarada Peet, and observes:- This anomalous tendency of the authorities only portends their bad time. Otherwise, the Government, which did not at all interfere in religious matters so far, would not commit such foolish acts now. Every-body is aware that the whites have no faith whatever in religion. But the authroties know th t Indians care more for their religion than even for their life. They perhaps forget it now on account of their mental aberration caused by the non-co-opeation movement. The authorities might have begun their warfare against our religion with the idea, that, as the non-co-operation movement is

based upon the ideals of Hindu and Muhammadan religions, it will die of its own app accord, if our religions and religious propagandists are crushed. We would apprise these f olishe people that the white authorities cannot do anythingw with our religion, which has existed now, for thousands/of years.

33. Adverting to the invitation of the Government to certain officials and non-eofficials to form a committee at Simla

The Publicity Bureau Committee at Simla.

er for considering how the utility of the existing publicity Bureaux may be improved further, the NAVASAKTI, of the 13th May, remarks:- We wish to know the necessity for this committee at this time when the expenditure exceeds the income. Is not Sir william Vincent satisfied with the work that is being done now by the Publicity Bureaux? To publish what matters has this committee been formed? It is perhaps to consider in what all directions counter-propaganda can be carried on to put down the non-co-operation movement.

36. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th May, refers in its long leader to the interview given by the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi

The MADRAS MAIL and non-co-operators.

and writes:- But as remarked by us already, the Viceroy cannot make any satisfactory arrangement other than that of granting real SWARAJ. To supplement the efforts made by the bureaucrats to land him in a difficult situation by the adoption of repres ssive measures, the Anglo_Indian papers also have girded up their loins and begun to place obstacles in the way of India's advancement . Lord Reading should judge for himself what the feelings of the country will be when the MADRAS MAIL, on account of racial arrogance and the support given by the bureaucrats, abuses Mr. Gandhi, who is the idol of the people, as a traitor and suggests that one should not have anything to dowith him and his followers. When His Royal Highness the Duke of Connau-

Connaught opened the Indian Legislative Councils, he spoke to the effect that the British and the Indians in India should in consideration of his long friendship for India, forget the past and have mutual love and goodwill thereafter. We request impartial Englishman to say whether the MADRAS MAIL which commended the request made by the Duke as a representative of His Majesty and which now unjustly villifies a leader highly esteemed by the Indians or Mr. Gandhi who works strenuously for the attainment, by his countrymen, of the legitimate rights of human beings is the real traitor.

Repression in India.

37. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th May, expresses its wish that India should not remain quiet like the python which some say, continues to sleep even when its tail catches fire and burns, and writes:- We are recieving news from various parts of India that many of our countrymen havebeen imprisoned and punished in otherways and a message recieved from Dehra Dun yesterday says that the Congress worker Mr. Devaratna Sarma has been imprisoned at Mussorie. It is not a great thing even if we are not granted SWARAJ as, by the grace of God, we are sure to win it. The first urgent request that we have to make of the authorities is to grant to us freedom of speech, as, it is only when we secure this that it will be possible for us to work strenuously for the attainment of SWARAJ. We request our leaders, who are now treating with the Government in regard to national deliverance, to attent to this at once. They should clearly inform the authorities as a first step that it would not be possible to treat with them unless repression were put a stop to.

Gandhi's Photograph.

RA 38. Referring to the order said to have been passed by the authorities of Godavari District that the Photograph of Gandhi should not be used in festivals and processions and to the news that 16

patriots stand charged under the sections 147 and 353, Cr.P.C. before the Joint Magistrate of Rajahmundry for having decorated the local car with a photo of Mr. Gandhi, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th May, observes:- The District authorities seem to have given instructions to the village officials to the announce by tom-tom that the decoration of car, etc., with Mr. Gandhi's photo has been prohibited. If all this is true, we should say that the authorities of that district top the list in the matter of repression. But we do not see which section of the Criminal Procedure Code allows them to start a campaign against Photographs.

616

42. Punishments in India.

Quoting ancient texts to the effect that the monarch who wishes his rule to endure should temper punishments awarded by him with mercy and that cruel words and immoderate punishemnts will tell upon his strength, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th May, writes:- But the British Government in India do not appear to have realized these truths as they award Excessive punishments even for ordinary offences and deem innocent acts to be crimes. In spite of this, they say that the Indian rulers, who preceded them, followed uncivilized methods of administration and that, only after their advent, civilised methods have been in vogue here. Thought the views of western political scientists differ in certain paoints from those of the Indian law-givers in regard to the nature of punishments the statesmen of the west are agreed that punishments should not be of an avenging character, but such as are calculated to reform the criminal. But the Government of India, without accepting the view either of the eastern law-givers or western statesmen, go on awarding punishments under the idea that they should be of revengeful character. Those who advocate political reforms, however carefully they may speak or however peaceful they may be, are visited with severe punishments Ganesh Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for having written

verses advocating freedom for his country and Mr. Tilak was given six years' transportation for having criticised the system of Indian administration in his KESARI, Again, the awarding of heavy rigorous imprisonment in the case of these who refuse to pay the fines or furnish security for good behaviour shows only malice who not statesmanship. If, while Mr. Roberst Stuart who made a revolutionary attempt in his country has been given only three months' imprisonment, those who disobey unjust ordersand advocate administrative reforms in this country are sentenced to heavy punishments, those punished will deem the suffering caused by such punishments also to be a kind of penance; but this tyranny will destroy the respect which the people have for the Government and which is already diminishing gradually. If their love and respect be lost, the administration cannot get on even for a moment in spite of all its military strength. We therefore hope the bureaucracy will, in its own interests, leave off this habit, award without any feeling of malice the slightest possible punishments to political workers who, in the exhuberance of joy flowing from a knowledge of the righthousness of their cause, transgress the law and, by adopting, as far as possible, an impartial attitude, try not to forfeit the love and regard of the people.

The estimation of the Friends (of Government).

43. Writing about Sir Valentine Chirol's recent article to the LONDON TIMES in which he wrote in detail about the Punjab affairs, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th May, observes: Sir Valentine Chirol has acquired fame as an advocate of the bureaucracy. Even suc a person had to admit that the movement of Mr. Gandhi was able to retard the spread of riots in the country .. .. .. He said that the Punjab Legislative Council fell far behind others in the matter of representing the people. Colonel Wedgwood equally condemned the narrowness of the Punjab authorities in regard to election matters. When men like Mr. Chirol himself

say that the old angle of vision of the Punjab authorities has not changed, how can the people co-operate with them? How can they forget the past? To add to this, Mr. Thompson who had previously plunged the Punjab in the agitation has agian occupied his old seat. The repressive laws are in force in the Punjab. Non-violent expression of opinion is restrained, and many youths who have taken the vow of non-violence are being repressed. .. .. .. Of what use are the reforms which cannot protect the birthrights of the people?

44. Referring to certain reports appearing in the ENGLISHMAN about the results of the interview between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th May, writes in its leader:- We cannot say how far these reports are well founded. .. .. Whatever the agreement arrived at, it must be based on the grant of SWARAJ. Until it is attained, neither the Punjab nor the Khilafat questions nor that of the Indians in the colonies be satisfactorily settled. There is no use of a temporary re-conciliation. India cannot have rest so long as the condition lasts in which she has to depend upon the goodness of the authorities. Persons of Lord Reading's type cannot be Viceroys always. A Viceroy like Lord Chelmsford and a Governor like Sir Michael O'Dwyer may agian come to power. Whoever the authorities may be, the birthrights of the people must be safe-guarded and, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, provision must be made against the recurrence of another Punjab tragedy. There can be no more efficient means for this than the grant of SWARAJ.

Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi.

46. Under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 9th May, writes:- We have been hearing numerous reports that counter-agitation are at work against the 'non-co-operation' and temperance movements, and that Panchama Christians are at the bottom of these.

Notes and comments.

It will be proper to call the promoters of this perverse movement as adherents of the creed of MARICHA (a demon) and not as christians. .. .. .. Bolshevism, in the neighbourhood of our Ellore, may be said to be spreading by the efforts of these adherents of the Maricha creed, and the Government must understand that Bolshevism will not be stamped out unless the spread of the creed of Maricha is arrested.

49. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 21st May, writes in its leader:-

A clever weaving.

The District Magistrate of of Tanjore cleverly connects the Kumbakonam riots with the non-co-operators. .. .. .. There is nothing strange in this white-washing of official acts. By associating all sins with non-co-operation, the responsibility of every one ceases. .. .. .. The Additional Magistrate makes no mention of any connection between the Kumbakonam strikers and non-co-operators. It may be understood that this connexion is devised by the District Magistrate to put the authorities on the wrong scent. .. .. Under such circumstances, it will be just to trace the crime impartially to the offender, and not to shirk responsibility by mentioning the name of 'non-co-operation'. It appears that the authorities themselves had never expected this outrageous action on the part of the people. From a clear examination of facts, it would appear that the Police had acted with precipitation and that, finding no means to shield their action, the District Magistrate had to look to non-co-operation which had no sort of connection with the Kumbakonam disorders. .. .. .. Had not the Police arrested a leader on the 3rd, this miserable plight would never have occurred. .. .. Why should a disturbance suddenly crop upon the 3rd which could not be expected on the 1st and 2nd? The Government will understand that the repressive acts of the Police alone led to the unrest. The real state of things cannot be concealed by the District Magistrate's covering up the whole with the non-co-operation

~~up the whole with the non-co-operation~~ movement. .. .. The Additional Magistrate's report says that there was scope for the continuing of the fire until the people dispersed, but that the Inspector had mercy. Another Jallianwallahbagh tragedy would have been enacted. It was well that neither the District Magistrate nor the Additional Magistrate was then on the spot. .. .. The non-official enquiry committee have condemned the severe acts of the Police.

Who is the greatest man?

51. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd May, quotes what the Rev. J.Holmes writes in the NEW YORK CALL to the effect that Mr. Gandhi is the greatest man existing, and a prophet like Jesus and Buddha, that India can gain liberty only by the non-violent SATYAGRAHA adopted by Mr. Gandhi, and that as this movement spreads among the villages, the Government will be paralysed. The article concludes with the remark that it goes without saying that it is the duty of the Indians to practice the precepts of Mahatma Gandhi, enjoying such unparallelled regard from every one.

Non-co-operation.

56. The NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 16th May, has a leader condemning non-co-operation warning the Government of India of the dangers resulting from the movement, and advising them to direct the Publicity Bureau to circulate tracts in vernaculars among the villages counselling all persons who have any vested interests not to take part in non-co-operation.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 23rd May, in an English article under this head-line, remarks:- "There are people who attribute the starting of the campaign of non-co-operation to Mahatma Gandhi. If it is traced to its origin we find that the credit of having started it belongs to those bureaucrats who departed from the policy of Government. There is one law for Englishmen in England and another in India. In the United Kingdom The Government is responsible to the people. In India the people

have to slave and neither they nor their representatives have any control over the bureaucrats whose sweet will and pleasure are the law in India. In England there is no taxation without representation. In England the Sovereign's duty consists in carrying out the collective wishes of the people. In India the wishes of the people are subordinated to the wishes of the bureaucrats. In England even the sovereigns are dethroned and hanged if they trample justice under foot. In India even saints will have to undergo penal servitude, internment, deportation, trans ortation and even the extreme penalty of the law if they corss the bureaucrats or if they have the timidity to openly grumble at the un-British acts of Un-British viceroys, un-British Governors, un-British Lieutenant-Governors, and un-British Dyers and O'Dwyers. It is such un-British acts of some Anglo-Indian bureaucrats that started the campaign of non-co-operation. .. Tilak and Gandhis are merely external exponents or rather the bubbles of the boiling cauldron beneath."

58. In an article exposing the grievances of India and suggesting remedies, the BALA-BHARATHI, of the 29th April, contains the following among other remarks:- .. .. .. The existing system of Foreign Government is not in the interests of the country. Though people pay heavy taxes, they have been spending them as they please uselessly for paying the salaries of Civil and Military officers. They are not effecting any improvements required for our progress. As all the wealth of our country is flowing into theirs at the rate of several crores every year, our country has been impoverished. The British have been ruling our country with partiality and self-interest, and not in our interest. Two hundred years of the rule has reduced the country to destitution. Many people have no food to eat and cloth to wear. Famine has been visiting the country every yearand pestilence carries away thousands of victims. The aid in the matter

Grievances of India: their remedy.

of education and sanitation is inadequate. Industries and trades have perished. People have no liberty. They have not the right to carry arms. There are many laws restricting the liberty of the people. Great distinction is observed between the whitemen and the coloured. The immediate attainment of SWARAJ is the remedy for these evils.

The article concludes with the three-fold mandate enjoined by the Congress Committee.

The Viceroy's interview with Mr. Gandhi.

61. With reference to an interview said to have been granted by His Excelency the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi and to Mr. Gandhi's public statement after the interview, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 20th May, remarks:- Mr. Gandhi has given sound advice to the Viceroy, which, if followed, would maintain British justice intact and make the British Empire everlasting. The Viceroy says that it is difficult to carry these suggestions into practice. What greatness is there in doing easy things? If British justice is established by overcoming all obstructions, they would need be an achievement. We pray that Lord Reading may be endowed with the same fortitude and fixity of purpose which characterised Lord Clive.

Lajpat Rai and the Ali brothers.

62. Observing that the recent speeches of Lajpat Rai and the Ali Brothers are justifying the complaint of the Anglo-Indians that they do not follow the principle of non-violent non-co-operation propounded by Mr. Gandhi and that the setting at liberty of political prisoners indiscriminately has brought about this unparallelled agitation in India, the MYSORE STAR, of the 22nd May, remarks as follows:- Just at present the Afghans are under the influence of the Bolshevists and are acting rather haughtily. There are indications to show that they propose to invade India, and at such a critical time as this Muhammada Ali and Lal. Lajpat Rai are giving expression to such strong & hostile views

and Lajpat Rai are giving expression to such strong and hostile views! The paper next quotes some extracts from their speeches and proceeds:- This shows how anxious some of our extremists leaders are to get back to the days of Muhammad Gazni, Taimur Lang and such others. Will not such wild speeches, expressing bitter hatred of the English people, excite the masses and bring about a revolution? How long is it possible for our rulers to see and hear these things and keep quiet?

Government servants and Politics.

63. Adverting to a recent Government Order amending the rules for the conduct of Government Servants as regards political movements, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 20th May in a leading article remarks:- Government conclude the Government Order with the impassioned remark that Government officials should consider it their bounden duty to openly combat the non-co-operation movement. Even before Government exhibited such strong passion, we know too well how their officers have behaved in places like Ottapalam. Has it not struck Government that the present Government Order gives a CARTE BLANCHE as it were, to bureaucratically-inclined officials? Maintenance of peace and Order is the bounden duty of all loyal officials and it is being observed faithfully by the Police and the Magisterial Officials. Where then is the need of calling upon one and all the officials to gird up their lions to put down the movement?

There is yet another matter for consideration. We are being repeatedly assured by Gover ment Officials, the moderate leaders and newspapers like NEW INDIA that the non-co-operation movement has failed in every direction. Mr. Gandhi, on his part, has declared that if within the next two months his efforts prove futile and he will retire into the forest. If the non-co-operation movement has failed and the opponents of the movement feel sure that the movement will dies a natural death on the

on the retirement of its leader, why should Government be in such hot hurry to issue such wonderful orders?

Indians and higher appointments under Government.

64. Criticizing a statement issued by the Publicity Bureau regarding higher appointments under Government held by Indians, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 20th May, writes:- In the paper issued by the Bureau a comparative statement showing the number of Indians holding higher appointments in the various Government departments in 1920 as compared with that held in 1906 has been given, with a view to point out that the number has gone on increasing steadily. We are, however, at a loss to ~~point out that the number has~~ to know why July 1920 has been taken up for comparison and not January, 1921. It is said that in the list issued, those who are on leave have been ignored and the acting incumbents have been shown as holding the places substantively. If so, the statement will only give a false idea of the situation. The truth is that many European officials were not able to obtain leave during the war time and that as many of them have now gone home taking advantage of the new leave rules, and as no European substitutes could be had to act for them, a number of Indians have been put in to act temporarily. Such temporary appointments must first be deducted from the number given in the list before we can find out the actual increase. Besides it is no use giving figures for gazetted appointments which are ordinarily held by Indians only, such as those of Deputy Collectors, Sub-Judges and Deputy Superintendents of Police. What we want to know is whether the number of appointments usually reserved for the Imperial Services are being bestowed upon Indians in larger and larger numbers as days go by. The Publicity Bureau is intended to place genuine facts before the public regarding the measures of Government, and so, if any attempt to give a false or exaggerated idea of the acts of Government is made by the Bureau, people, will lose all faith in its publications.

65. In an leading article under the heading 'Government's policy' the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 18th May, doubts whether the changes recently made by the Madras Government in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules empowering them to attend public meetings with a view to check the progress of the non-co-operation movement will produce the desired result and thinks that these changes and the possible, overzealous andhigh-handed actions of some Government servants under cover of these orders will onlytend to add fuel to the fire of popular agitation. The paper points out that the silence of the Government in the matter of the Ottapalam disturbance in spite of the publication of the report of the non-official emergency committee condemning the action of the Reserve Police, will tend to shake the confidence of the people in British justice and that such a thing should not be allowed to occur at this juncture when the people have not yet forgotten the Punjab disorders. It is of opinion that the scant courtesy shown by Europeans to Indias, the imprisonment of young students, the prohibition of the Gandhi cap and the indiscriminate use of section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedurewill only help to increase the unrest in the country which could be allayed only if the Government of India found out and removed the root causes of popular discontent.

Government's policy.

The SUPRABHATAM, of the 18th May, expresses sentiments similar to the above. It thinks that the Government Order Provides 'a ladder for monkeys' (extra facilities for natural mischievous propensities) and is afraid thatthe clash ofsupported high-handedness of Government Servants and despondent outbreaks of rash non-co-operationists may end in confusion and misery. It is sorry for the plight of India in which 'the serpent wont die and the stick wont break.'

66. Referring to the wail set up in the PIONEER possibly by some European public servants, who have no taste for

Europeans and the public service.

the reforms and the 'Indianisation' of the services and the loss of prestige and are therefore asking to be released from their unpleasant posts but with fat compensatory gratuities, the MITAVADI (Moderate Advocate), of the 16th May writes:- "We think that the Government of India ought to set these sorrowing souls free and give them passports for the land of their birth. We cannot however, go further and endorse the demands of these discontented individuals for fat gratuities -- they demand six years' pay -- for soothening their wounded vanity. Well, nobody invited them to come to India; we did not petition them to honour us with their presence; and that being the case, they have absolutely no right to demand that they should be paid fat gratuities. Their demand means adding insult to injury -- rather injury to insult. They have insulted the Indian people by putting on airs, professing to be superior persons, and by refusing to serve with or under them. The demand, therefore, cannot be entertained fora single movement, and if ever the Government of India took it into their head to grant it, they would, we can assure them, meet with stout resistance in the Imperial assembly". The paper is happy however, to not that this type represents only a minority of European public Servants in India while the majority are devoted to the ideal of service of the country and people of India.

69. The SUPRABHATAM, of the 11th May, points out that the Ottapalam incident is an instance in point to

The Ottapalam fracas.

show that British justice is abused at times, refers to the opinion of the committee appointed by the Congress leaders to inquire into the matter that the disturbance was due to the deliberate and premediated action of the Police and an inquiry, ~~(it must be inferred that)~~ observes that from the fact that the Govern-

ment have as yet done nothing to hold an inquiry, it must be inferred that the Police must have had the encouragement and support of the Government.

The LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 2nd May, publishes a detailed a count of the Ottapalam conferences and disturbance. It says:- Public opinion is that such atrocities could not have been committed without the approval of the European of icers. The object of such premeditated rascality must have been to secure the arrest of those who might resort to violence as a result of the challenge thrown out to them and thus to justify the former cruel acts of repression followed by the Collector Mr. Thomas. We have to wait and see what the Government is going to do in this matter in which so many innocent persons have been so cruelly ill-treated. Can it be that the Government have ordered a sweeping out of non-co-operation (by force)? Even the Bolsheviks will not issue such an order and the British will therefore never issue it. We shall in due time know the views of Lord Reading on the subject.

Mr. Gandhi in Simla.

70. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 18th May, severely criticises the action of Mr. Gandhi in seeking an interview with the viceroy, which, it thinks, will not be productive of any good to the country or the people, and observes that if all the trouble that is now taken to explain the situation to the public were used to convince the authorities our countrymen would be saved from all this wrangling.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

Reforms in Hyderabad.

76. Referring to the great delight evinced by some people over a new era having dawned upon India as a result of the reforms, the NAVASAKTI, of the 13th May, remarks:- Though the Indian National Congress has been for the past 35 years asking for the separation of the executive from the Judicial functions,

it has not been done in India. But the Nizam has already done it in his State, as seen from a communique recently issued by him, and we think that by this separation, the public will be benefited in several ways. The ruler of the Nizam's Dominions is one who has well understood the grievances of his subjects.

For the week ending 4th June 1921.

No.23 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Viceroy's speech.

1. Referring to the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club, Simla, on 30th May, 1921, JUSTICE, of the 1st June, observes:- "It is rarely our privilege now-a-days to come across a Viceregal speech so thrilling in its eloquence and so inspiring in its sentiments as the one that was delivered by His Excellency Lord Reading at the Chelmsford Club on Monday last. .. .. .. He has discovered what it is that really ails India at the present moment. It is neither the Punjab tragedy nor the Khilafat question that is really at the bottom of the trouble; those have simply aggravated the general feeling of disgust in the Indian mind against the assumption of racial superiority by the Englishmen in India. This racial inequality and all that it connotes are the real cause of the widespread unrest in India to-day. That His Excellency has realised this inwardness of the situation is indicated by the prominence that he has given to the statement of the proposition that 'here' in India there can be no trace, and there must be no trace, of racial inequality.' His Excellency, of course, claimed it as 'a fundamental principle of British rule' that there should be no racial discrimination in India. .. .. .. It is not, however,

sufficient if His Excellency alone were imbued with this righteousness spirit for doing justice to the Indians, for he is, after all, a single individual, who could not naturally be expected to have an eye on the administration in all aspects. The spirit should diffuse itself amongst all the officers of the Government and then only will the Viceroy's promise of carrying on 'a juat suit' be fulfilled",

NEW INDIA, of the 2nd June, writes:-The principle of racial equality was, in theory, the bedrock on which the administration was based; yet so violently had it been departed from His Excellency has had to reiterate the assurance that there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality.

The HINDU, of the 2nd June, remarks:-

"TOWARDS PEACE"

The country hears with relief that he is a firm believer in the principle that here in India (and why India alone?) there could be no trace of racial inequality. The Indian does not want to be told, even by Viceroys, that he is as good as a European. The greater need is that the European should be told that the Indian is as good as he is, and here Lord Reading puts a considerable strain on our credulity when he says that no section of the British people would dispute his dictum. .. We are not unmindful of the importance of creating an atmosphere favourable to peace. To that end Lord Reading's speech is an important contributory. Equally so must be regarded his wise decision not to proceed with the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. It is a belated recognition of the fact that repression inevitably defeats itself in the end. The prosecution of the brothers would, taking only the extension of the movement into consideration, have given a considerable impetus to it and added largely to the Government's embarrassments. On the other hand, it would have been almost certain to render the political atmosphere much worse and have given rise to dangerous possibilities".

VERNACULAR PAPERS, I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

5. The Imperial Conference.

Referring to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that only certain importante points will be discussed in the coming Imperial Conference and that others may probably be left out of discussion as not being urgent and remarking that among the latter comes the question of India's status in the Empire, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd March May, observes:- There is room for us to think that, as the Candaian Prime Minister has himself suggested to the British Government that it would not be desirable to discuss anything beyond the cardinal points in the Conference, he is expeessing his own wish rather than what will be done in the Conference. But as the proceedings of the Conference will be guided mostly by the Colonial representatives, it is very likely that the position of Indians in the Colonies will be entirely left out of discussionor the conference may, without coming to any conclusion with regard thereto, simply ascertain the views of the Indians. Looking again at the nature of the two gems who have been selected by the Government of India to represent the Indian cause before such tribunal, one all indee consider the position entirely disappointing though in an interview with an editor of a London paper, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is said to have express ed the view that it was quite necessary that India should have an equal status with the colonies. India has its own misgivings that he will only be then mouth-piece of the Government of India when the conference meets and will not have the courage to present the popular side. We are not unable to say from our past experience of him that he would strongly urge for a discussion of the Indian question in the conference and insist that a definite conclusion favourable to the India should be arrived at in regard hereto. Turning now to the other representative, the Maharoa of Cutch, the case seems to be worse. From th statements made by him on the eve of his departure to the editor of the paper at Bombay, it is clear that he holds, views opposed to those of the general public. One of such is

is the statement that, as India has not the power to defent herself, she should join in the general measures of defence of the Empire along with Australia and South Africa. He also says, as the conduct of the white colonists, who deny equal rights to the Indians, is quite natural to mankind, he has no mind to blame the former for it, in spite of his sympathy for the Indians. Apart from these facts, neither of them consulted, before their departure, the prominent leaders or representative bodies in the country in reference to their work in England. We cannot understand the object of the Government of India in having sent such "representatives". But the authorities can be under no greater delusion, if they should think that India would rest satisfied under the impression that, by such action on their part, the Government were evincing a solicitude for the removal of her difficulties and dishonour in foreign lands.

Colonies and the exclusion of the Asiatics.

8. In its leader under this heading, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 26th May, writes:- A resolution moved by the Japanese in the League of Nations advocating equal regard to Europeans and Asiatics, fell throughby the opposition of the European members who constituted a majority. The movement for excluding the Asiatics is spreading in the colonies. Australia and Canada have passed the Asiatic Exclusion Act. .. .. . All the colonies must be under the sway of the Europeans and Asiatics may not set foot on them who knows that Europeans to look upon the world as the garden of Eden created for them. There is manifest in the affairs of the colonies not only wickedness, selfishness, despotism, but also ingratitude. The struggle between the Negros and the Europeans in Amera proves that this movement of exclusion takes its origin from race hatred. .. .. Not disposed to put with the the insult suffered by them in Canada, the Japanese have been preaching the doctrine that Asia is for the Asiatics. If this movement of exclusion were to take root in the races of the world, it paves the way for a fight to be fought in Asia more terrible

than the recent great war. We trust that the Imperial Conference, will with will, with a far reaching view of this issue, grant to India a status that is on a par with that of the colonies.

9. Remarking that the treatment of meted out to the Indians in the colonies in the various parts of the British Empire is unjust, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 31st May, in a leading article, observes --The British colonies have been looking down upon the Indians as if they were PANCHAMAS POLITICALLY. Is this in any way conducive to the stability of the British Empire? Was it in any sense proper to have asked the Indians what they contributed in men and money during the war? When our opinion has no weight, what is the meaning of asking us to send representatives to the Conference of the Ministers of the Empire? From the way in which the Indians are being treated by these colonies, it looks as if we are undergoing punishment for being traitors to the Empie. Why are the British colonies charging the Indians with all sorts of accusations for the simple reason of their God-given black colour! Though our Government are trying their level best to get justice done to India in the Conference, everything will be set right only if their attempts prove successful. If, on the other hand, these conferences only go to strengthen the colour differences who will really be able to avoid the evil consequences thereof?

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

10. Referring to the statement of the Government of Bengal, Police recklessness at Rajshahi in their communique about the efforts made by the Police to recapture the prisoners that had escaped from the jail at Rajshahi, that the escape of the prisoners was due to the want of respect for constituted authority engendered by the non-co-operation movement of Mr.Gandhi., the DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th

May, remarks:--Of a nation which is, by nature loyal to the Government and obedient to the authorities, should so soon lose its loyalty on account of this movement, it would be no exaggeration to say that there is some cancer inside which has been eating out the vitals of that Government. But we are concerned here only with the portion of the communique which disposes of the conduct of the police probationers who, in their alleged zeal to rearrest the prisoners, shot a number of innocent people, mistaking them for prisoners. Out political like Chanakaya and the British laws and regulations equally lay down that it is the duty of the Government to institute an open judicial inquiry when extraordinary incidents like this happen. While English Jurisprudence requires the holding of a Judicial inquiry even in the case of the soldiers using fire arms in a country brought under the operation of Martial Law. Can we call the Government civilized which is satisfied with a mere departmental inquiry in a case in which the policemen who , without acting under any special law, commit murderous acts and which decides that they are not guilty, as they did not act with bad intention? If the persons killed had been Englishmen would the Government have disposed of the matter so easily? Are the lives of the Indians alone worth so little? If we regard this question now as settled, there will indeed be no security of life in our country. It has become usual in this country for officials to suspect persons who pursue their ordinary avocations in life and molest them. The Police have it all their own way, as the people, without vigorously asserting their rights, attempt to bribe and coax them. Both the Police and their masters, the Government all sense that the Indians too have got their own rights as human beings and that, if such rights are violated, the former willhave answer before the higher authority and the world for their conduct. If even murders like this are left unchecked the Police will doubtless begin to molest

the people without any fear? Anarchy dressed in robes of authority is stalking the land so early. If it be that no relief is afforded even for acts like this, it will begin to run amuck in the country. It may be questioned if it is right to allow criminals to escape. While it is the view of the English jurists that it is better to allow a thousand criminals to escape rather than to get one innocent man punished, will they admit that it is proper to attack innocent men under the impression that the runway prisoners may perhaps be in the crowd? Unless English think that there is one principle of law for themselves and quite another for the Indians, they ought not to leave this question here. Whatever they may do, our clear duty is to organize a vigorous agitation that the lives of the Indians should not thus be treated with contempt.

The shooting by the Police at Kumbakonam.

12. Adverting to the report of the District Collector of Tanjore on this subject, the the DRAVIDAN, of the 21st May refers specially to his statement that the Subdivisional Magistrate was not present at his headquarters on the day of the riot, and that he never knew that the strike would take such a sserious trun as there was no symptom thereof till the third April, and observes:- It is a matter for regret that the local authorities did not understand that real nature of the Strike. It is known to all that the non-co-operators are ever watching for an opportunity to convert a spark into a conflagration. The explanations given by the Collector and his subordinates are not satisfactory to us. He says that the Police were justified in shooting the people and that the accounts in the papers were exaggerated. It is our opinion that the authorities did not at all pay any attention to the character of the strike, and the absence of the authorities from the station was favourable to the non-co-operators.

Remarking that the District Magistrate of Tanjore inquired only into the conduct of the non-co-operators, while he was directed to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the Officials in connexion with the shooting, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd May, writes:- It shown indeed the mercy of the Government not to have shot down the non-co-operators who committed the abominable crime of protesting against the appointment of a paid Secretary to the municipality. We do not deny also that the non-co-operators carried on an agitation during the Legislative Council, elections, but the wonder of it is the statement that they did so with a view to attack the municipality. The attempt of the Magistrate to connect the acts of the non-co-operators with the matter in question is a still more curious. He says that, if strikers had been left to themselves, there is no doubt at all that they would not have committed any cruel acts., and points to the fact that such things have gone on smoothly in other municipalities. He has clearly shown by this that the object of the Government was only to suppress the non-co-operation movement by some means or other and to strike terror into the minds of the public. We shall emphatically say that their object will never succeed. We have also to infer that the bureaucrats have come to the determination that the only course open to them is to take revenge upon the non-co-operators, as they feel convinced that it is the latter that incite people to commit cruel acts. It needs no saying from us that the authorities will attempt to convert India also into another Ireland. But it is the duty of the non-co-operators to see that such attempts are frustrated. The District Magistrate and the Additional District Magistrate are of the view that the Police were fully justified in their act of shooting. The statement of the District Magistrate in this connexion puts us in mind of that of Dyer that he had shots only for 1,650 rounds and that, if he had more, he would have killed more. This reveals the terrible truth that all the persons serving under this Government reach the

the mental attitude of Dyer. Hence, the question is how long the Indians are going to allow their relatives and friends to hold appointments under this Government. The District Magistrate has stated that the Vakils and Mr. Ramabhadra Udayar with whom he conversed, accepted that the police were justified in shooting. What amount of truth there is in it can be judged by our leaders, as the non-official report was ~~fortunaly~~ fortunately published long before. It is strange that the authoritie did not realize what amount of weight could under the circumstances be attached to their statement that the firing was justifiable, in the face of admission of the District Magistrate in his letter to Government that the constables received only slight injuries on account of the pelting of stones and that, on the day of the riot, no articles were prevented from being taken into the town except for a few hours. The Additional District Magistrate has stated that the evidence before the non-official enquiry committee -- many of the witnesses who gave evidence were respectable gentlemen and High Court Vakils -- is worth reading, only to know the falsehoods abounding in it and its ridiculous character. Perhaps he thought that, by this remark, he could increase the respect of the people for the Government and its servants.

Referring to the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th May, observes:- The trouble arose solely from the Municipality of Kumbakonam having raised the licence fees for carts and hotels and from the bandymen and hotel-keepers having struck work as a protest against such increase. But the very fact that the municipality thought fit to lower thefees as a result of the arbitration of the District Magistrate and others proves that the contention of those people was just and that there were sufficient grounds for their being dissatisfied and starting an agitation. It is, therefore, clear that those men are not in any way responsible for the stressful situation. The important question is whether, even if there was

rioting, the situation was so very critical as to justify the use of firearms on thepublic and whether there was sufficient ground for apprehending serious danger to life and property from the crowd. No disturbance whatever took place when the Police Inspector arrested Natesa Chetti, whom he considered to be the ringleader, and sent him to the police station in a bandy. The people wanted only his release on bail and it was only because the Police Inspector refused to do so that the people collected in front of the police station to demand his release. That they did not do any harm to the station house and peacefully made way for the Sub-Magistrate, who styled himself their friend, shows that they did not collect there with any bad intent. The Police Inspector says that as they were pelting stones at the station building, firing was ordered under the impression that the crowd could not be dispersed otherwise. This explanation given with a view to whitewash Police action, cannot be accepted by any one who view sfacts impartially. A respactable witness has stated before the non-official enquiry committee that he saw the policemen themselves throwing stones at the building with a view to create a pretext for firing. Even if it be granted that the people threw stones, we emphatically assert that it is not in accordance either with justice or with law to shoot them down. The story that the People, instigated thereto by Mr. Ramabhadra Udayar, had come with the intention of attacking the police station and rescuing Natesa Chetti, falls to the ground in the face of the evidence of a respectable gentlemen who were present at the meeting at which Mr. Ramabhadra Udayar is said to have made the instigation. There is nothing either in the evidence or in the report to show that the people had created such a situation as to justify firing again and again at intervals, without getting the orders of the Magistrate who was at headquarters, make it clear that he did so simply with the idea of frightening the peoplel In

spite of the oft-repeated statement of the British Judges that the greatest care should be taken before ~~any~~ doing anything calculated to take away the lives of His Majesty's subjects, the resort to firearms both before and after the Punjab massacre supports our view, that, so long as our country is under foreign rule, such principles of law will remain only a dead letter. It is only when we secure SWARAJ, we can make ~~all~~ laws safe-guarding our fundamental rights and see that the authorities apply the same in a proper manner. We should, therefore, direct our full efforts only towards the attainment of SWARAJ.

RA · 13. Expressing surprise that the Government of Madras

The Police at Ottapalam.

who had ~~am~~ muzzled the mouths of Yakub Hasan and others with a view to preserve peace in the country have not uttered even one world regarding the excesses committee by the Police at Ottapalam , the KANTHIRAVA, of the 24th May, in a short note writes:- It is said that Madras is without a rival in meeting out justice. If so, why is it that not even a brief inquiry has been held in the matter of the deliberate insults offered to the non-co-operationists and the Khilafat workers by the Police at Ottapalam? Or if the news published in the MADRAS MAILbe false, why should not the Government say so publicly? So far as our knowledge goes, the people so insulted have not given any occasion for it, nor does any other newspaper say that any offence has been committed by these people. If the news published by the ~~ma~~ MADRAS MAIL be true, we think it the duty of Government to apologise to the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Conference and suitably punish the Policemen con-cerned in this affair. If the Government keep silence without either contradicting thenews published by the MAIL or holding any inquiry regarding the conduct of the Police, in all likeli-hood people will infer that the Government had some hand in the matter.

(k) General.

23. Remarking that the British are constantly preaching to the Indians that they (the British) have been created for the special purpose of saving India and that the officers of the Indian Civil Service are intent solely on civilizing her, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st May, writes:- While American has come for ward to grant independence to the Phillippines -----within twenty years since they came into their possession, the British in spite of our having been under their ur rule for over 150 years, are saying that we are not yet for self-government, and that our fitness for it should be tested by the grant of reforms step by step. The bureaucratic civilians who have always proved a stumbling block to the introduction of political reforms in India, are mainly responsible for this view. Even the inordinate increase in their pay sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India as a result of their threats of resignation has not brought any satisfaction to them. The Anglo-Indian papers recommended that, as most of them were not willing to serve under the new Government, they should be allowed to retire on liberal pensions. However, Mr. Montagu stated in reply to a question in the House of Commons that he had recieved only a single application for retirement and that it was not due to the reforms. Still, a member of the Civil Service has thought fit to take exception to the inference drawn therefrom by the Times of India that the Civil Servants were prepared to work the reforms satisfactorily and state that, in spite of their dissatisfaction with the reforms, they continued to remain in this country as they could not maintain themselves in England with their small pensions. Our Moderate friends are dreaming that we should achieve SWARAJ only with the co-operation and assistance of the Civil Servants who cannot bear even to see us acquire our birthright of SWARAJ and who stary in Inda merely for the purpose of eking out their livelihood. Will this at least serve to disillusion them?

The Indian reforms and the Civil Service.

25. Reverting to this subject elsewhere, the ~~Tamil~~ TAMIL NADU, of the 15th May,

Lord Reading,

says:- Our friends became immersed in delight as soon as Lord Reading announced that he had asked the Government of Punjab to appoint a committee for awarding compensation to the Indians for the damage sustained by them, on the same scale as that on which it was granted to the Europeans. But, in their ecstacy, they failed to note the order passed by the Government of the Punjab on the very day Lord Reading visited in prohibiting public meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act. Further, since the advent of Lord Reading, repression has been only on the increase. We hope our friends who have a blind faith in Lord Reading will change their opinion at least after going through his small speech at Simla which clearly shows his attitude. How can his observations; that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms indicated the royal road for us to SWARAJ, give any satisfaction to those who consider the reforms to be worthless and disappointing? This is the first act of justice done to India by Lord Reading, who has been saying without intermission that he was going to do justice to her. He referred in his speech only to the foolish acts committed by people in few places and said that the Government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent a recurrence of such acts; but he was silent about the acts of injustice and cruelty committed by the authorities throughout India. Is he not aware of these cruelties or do they appear justifiable to him, who was once a Judge and who came here trumpeting forth that he wanted to do justice? Does he sincerlly think that it is not against law an equity for the magistrates to go on applying section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, against the non-co-operators and gagging the Congress propagandists? If not, why should he have been silent on these matters? We may regard him as an impartial person, if he had also condemned the Police who are using firearms on innocent

people. We can therefore gather from all these how far he is inclined to do justice to us. He gave expression to án undeniable opinion that it was the main duty of the Government to promote the welfare and happiness of the people. But many Britishers have themselves admitted that their Government is not conducted on these lines. Lord Reading should understand that the profit and the welfare of the Englishmen are the main objects of the Government and that the good of the Indians is not cared for in the least. Had it been otherwise, the Punjab atrocities would never have occurred and even if they took place, the perpetrators would have been adequately punished. Again, if the Government had realized that to secure the contentment of the people was its main duty, it would not have rested without seeking a remedy for the Khilafat affair. We very much pity the ignorance of those who think, even after Lord Reading's address at Simla, that he is going to redress all the grievances of the Indians.

Referring to the same subject and remarking that it would have been an act of great statesmanship on the part of Lord Reading, if his pacificatory attempts had been proceeded by absolute cessation of repression, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th May, observes:- The meaning of Mr. Gandhi's statement that the result of his conversation with the Viceroy could be said to be both successful and unsuccessful is not clear to us. But we will not be far wrong in inferring that the patient hearing given to him by Lord Reading was considered by him to be a satisfactory feature and that he considered it also to be unsatisfactory, inasmuch as no definite promise was made in gegard to the cessation of repressive measures and the grant of SWARAJ. We only trust that Lord Reading will not imagine, that, by merely listening with patience, he can satisfy theIndian nation. Let him carefully peruse the recent address of Mr. Lajpat Rai put in a nutshell the determinate goal of mother India when he said tht the Indian nation would

Let him carefully peruse in- the recent address of Mr. Lajpat Rai at Simla, if he wishes to understand the real attitude of the Indian Nation. Mr. Lajpat Rai put in a nutshell the determinate goal of mother India when he said that the India nation would cease to al follow even Mr. Gandhi if he did not stand for SWARAJ. We firmly believe that the latter demands only complete SWARAJ. But, if perhaps, he should forget himself under the spell of the honeyed words of the Viceroy and consent even to have something less, the race of Bharata will never agree to it. To-day, it expects action from those who seek peace with it. If England wants to continue hereafter also in the same Empire with India, she should at once put a stop to the present cruel system of administration and give the Indians absolute a- autonomy in their own country and equal rights in the Empire. Now is the time for establishing peace on a firm basis. It has been usual with England to let the favourable opportunity slip through her fingers and then to repent for it, as she did in the case of America and Ireland. The Indian nation does not, at this hour, demand complete severance, with a united voice. If only what is demanded by it through the Indian National Congress is granted at once in its entirety, England can command its friendship. If, however, in the madness of her strength, she sets India at naught to-day, the latter may demand nothing short of separation to-morrow and begin to make preparations for the achievement of her object. Let therefore, Lord Reading who represents England decide his policy carefully. Two courses are now open to him, the one being the grant of SWARAJ to India and the other, the adoption of a policy of repression. We shall wait and see which of them he is going to chose.

26. Referring to the advice said to be offered to Government by persons like Lord Sydenham and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the 'white' papers, to do away with Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders, the TAMIL NADU, of the 15th May, observes:- We cannot onlysay that if the continuance of the British Empire is desired, it is necessary that India should be given military training. But to give Military training, without granting SWARAJ, will prove a danger. We would therefore tell the Government that the simultaneous grant of SWARAJ and military training is not only an act of justice but also a momentous stroke of statesmanship. There will be security for the Government only if they forget the policy of 'divide and rule' unite the people of India grant them SWARAJ and prepare them for war. This indeed is the truth, Will the English Ministers accept what we say?

Necessity for SWARAJ in India.

27. Referring to the reply of the Secretary of State for India, to a question in the House of Commons, that Rs.1,971 is being spent on the average annually upon the English soldier and Rs.411 upon an Indian soldier, the NAVASAKTI, of the 20th May observes:- Why should not the Finance Member of the Government of India reduce the number of European soldiers and curtail the expenditure? How is it that the co-operators do not pay any attention to the fact that there will be a saving of Rs.1,500 in the case of every Indian soldier substituted for the European One?

The Army Expenditure.

33. Referring to the sentence of transportation for life and to the order of confiscation of property passed by the Allahabad High Court on Hamid Ahmed, a Khilafat preacher in the united provinces, for offences under sections 121 and 124-A,

The punishment of political offenders.

Indian Penal Code, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th May, observes:-

We say that this punishment is

.. ..

undoubtedly a barbarous one. We cannot understand the meaning of the order for confistcation of property when the accused has been already sentenced to transportation, as the wife and the children of the accused will have to suffer on account thereof. The people should without being frightened hereby, try to do away with the system of Government which is responsible for such uncivilised and unjust punishments. Such punishments will have the effect only of increasing the zeal of public.

Adverting to the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th May, wants to know if such a severe sentence would be passed in England for his utterances, and if the administration of one kind of justice for India and quite another for England followed at present is going to be altered during the time of Lord Reading.

Adverting to the fine of Rs.710 imposed on the editor of the PRAJABANDU published at Patna, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th May, thinks that the punishment inflicted, though ostensibly relates to an offence under the Indian Companies Act, is practically the result of the paper having been lately advocating non-co-operation, and observes:- Lord Reading should give an assurance that repression would not be resorted to either directly, or under some pretext. We may say that a sentence of fine on a newspaper is equivalent in effect to a death sentence. But whether the pubishments be severe or light, the entire armoury of repression cannot kill the spirit of freedom, as may be seen fom the fate of the Czar's cruel rule. Unless Lord Reading puts his words into action and sees to the passing of such laws and regulations as would ensure the administration of the same impartial justice in India in regard to political offences, as is being done by the English courts, there is no likelihood of the fulfilment of his ideas of peace.

The present political situation.

34. The NAVASAKTI, of the 27th May, writes:- The war for SWARAJ is now going on in India between the non-co-operators and the bureaucrats. The former are fighting with soul ~~force~~ force as their only weapon, while the latter are armed with repression. The non-co-operators are carrying on this spiritual warfare without any abatement of zeal and the bureaucrats also are setting the wheel of repression in motion~~-ve in-~~ very quickly. That the interview of Mr. Gandhi with the Viceroy will not in any way change the situation was anticipated already by many wise men. As Lord Reading was new to India, he wanted to sound the views of Mr. Gandhi. Lord Reading has understood that Mr. Gandhi has set his heart upon SWARAJ. The latter will work with tenfold zeal in the cause and never abate a jot. Lord Reading's Government will resort to repression in an increased measure ~~and~~ in the midst of this war and this is the identical moment for the people to obey Mr. Gandhi's injunctions and attain SWARAJ. We urge once more that they should not forsake the truth for fear of repression.

The Nankhana massacre.

38. Referring to the preliminary inquiry in the Nankhana murder case, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th May, remarks:- In this case, the Associated Press communicated to the papers the details of the examination of only one or two witnesses in the beginning and furnished no information with regard to the examination of the principal accused. It is not known why there should be so much of indifference in publishing the details of a crime deemed to be more atrocious than the Jallianwallah massacre. We hope that the proceedings of the trial in the Sessions Court at least will be duly supplied to the papers.

39. Quoting a statement of Lord Curzon that administration and exploitation were the two wings of the work of civilization

The condition of Labourers in plantations.

carried on by Englishmen in India, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th May, writes:- But we would state that exploitation is their chief object. It is only because administration helps exploitation, Englishmen are holding on to it. Had it been possible for them to exploit as they pleased, without undertaking the work of administration, they would have left it in our hands. They are attacking the SWARAJ movement with a united front only because, if the whole of the administrative machinery comes under our control it will become very difficult for them to extract work from under our control, it will become very difficult for them to extrant work from others and earn money without doing any work themselves. Of the several means of exploitation resorted to by them, plantation is the most important Englishmen raise several kinds of Produce such as coffee, tea and pepper and trade in them, and we are not jealous that they make money from it. But we cannot help condemning the Government and the zamindars and others, who, for fear of disobliging Englishmen, have granted them leases of large tracts of land on easy terms, disregarding the claims of Indians. This apart, it must be mentioned that the planters extract work from the coolies in a cruel manner. It never occurs to them that the coolies also are human beings and they regard them only as animals purchased by them for earning profit. The coolies must work 11 or 12 hours a day and finish the work assigned to them to despite considerations of weather. But the wages they thus earn are far lower than what they would get in plains. They should without grumbling submit to all the thrashings they get from their rude masters, some of whom even violated the chastity of the coolie women. If any attempt is made to prevent such things, there is the revolver in the master's hands. Even if a complaint for murder is lodged, there is

English jury to release them under the excuse that the shot was fired in self-defence. When the coolies are living such a life, where are the means for their spiritual or intellectual advancement?

Referring to the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th May, writes:- The news which is being received every day with regard to the unfortunate condition of labourers in the Assam plantations is most harrowing. If the planters had plainly told the labourers that it was on account of the fall in trade that they were given only poor wages, they would have found other means of livelihood either by themselves or through the help of sympathisers. But, instead of this, the platnters, as is usual with them, are throwing the whole blame on the political leaders; and the Anglo-Indian papers also come to their support. Our readers, can, however, judge the real state of affairs from the description of their condition given by Mr. C.F.Andrews. However mercilessly the planters might have behaved towards the labourers by exploiting their labour so long as it was necessary for them and driving them out afterwards when their business slackened, it causes us great surprise that the Government too, instead of realizing its duties and affording them adequate relief by timely interference in the matter, should have conducted itself worse than the planters. The statement in their communique, that they cannot accept the responsibility of sending the labourers home at the public expense shows that they are entirely devoid of mercy. Further, they have failed to take proper steps to prevent the spread of the infectious diseases that have broken out among the labourers at least in consideration of the danger likely to be caused to the public therefrom. To add insult to injury, they have stationed troops in places where the labourers have gathered in large numbers, and it is needless for us to state what the consequence of this will be. Mr. Andrews himself says that the Government have been harassing the

labourers in several ways. No inquiry committee has been appointed in spite of his request for it. We appreciate, however, the action of the public of Bengal who realise their duties in the matter, notwithstanding the fact that the alien Government who have no regard for Indian lives, has remained so grossly indifferent.

43. The HITAKARINI, of the 23rd May, writes to the following effect under this heading:-

Anarchy or Official despotism.

We call this life of silence enforced by arbitrary and repressive laws, peace. This is artificial peace and is the result of despondency engendered by despair dictated by terrorism and official despotism. It is out of this that sacrifice and daring enterprise spring up. Who were the cause of the Great war that India had to face in 1857? Who does not know that the agitation of 1907 was the result of the partition of Bengal during the rule of Lord Curzon? What is the cause of the flame of unrest that rose up in 1917? The Official opinion is that it is anarchy and sedition, and the popular opinion is that it is official despotism. Even before SATYAGRAHA and non-co-operation started, unrest had spread. Who passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of popular opposition as a stain on Indian nationalism? Who convulsed the heart of India by the Punjab massacres? Why did persons like Rabindra Nath renounce their titles? Why did Sankar Nayar resign his office and Malaviya, Jinnah, and others their seats on the Council? .. .. Who are the root-cause of Malegaon, Giridhi, Ottapalayam, and Chittagong disorders? .. .. .. Who are responsible for the imprisonment of Mr. Joshi a worker in the field of morality and temperance? .. .. Who are the authors of the disturbances of Chirala, Perala and Repalle, Valapalli and Bhadrachalam? Who is it that seek to restrain the leaders at Rajahmundry? Does not the country know that it is the authorities? .. .. .. Peace follows in the

foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi, where we find no official interference, especially police interference. A consideration of the agitation in places where the officials interfere, and of the peace prevailing in the absence of official interference, shows who the authors of this anarchism are?

50. Writing in the Telugu daily the NYAYA DIPIKA, The GODAVARIPATRIKA of the 10 th May, says:- This is one of the papers exciting class hatred. We are of opinion that the provincial rulers and officers are more responsible for the starting of such papers that the non-Brahmans whose view does not extend beyond the present. During Lord Pentland's rule, the Government lent special patronage to the JUSTICE. Neither his Government nor his officers took any objection to its writings overstepping the limits of propriety. .. .. That is why JUSTICE lives on to this day. This and its corresponding Tamil paper are intended to raise the standard opposition against the ANDHRAPATRIKA and the SWADESAMITRAN. The world cannot fail to understand that some English officers in this Presidency are responsible for the starting of these papers. We have to offer a word of counsel to the English. No Government has suffered at the hands of the Brahman during the past 800 years. If any danger ever occurred to the Government, it was on account of those coveted temporary profit.

The 'Nyaya Dipika'

51. The VENKATESAPATRIKA of the 21st May, publishes portions of a leaflet from the pen of correspondent on non-co-operation, which contains the following among others statements:- The agricultural products of our country are abundant, but none are poorer than our people. The reason is this. The rulers being alien, 56 crores are going to England in the shape of the exorbiant

A leaflet on non-co-operation.

~~exhorbitants~~ salaries of the Europeans and as the result of Commerce. What remains in the country after such heavy annual drain? Unendurable poverty has been our lot. Six crores of our peopleare destitute of food and raiment. .. .. Another evil is dishonour due to difference in colour. All offices carrying high salaries go to the white men. However intelligent we may be, we have to be content with low pay and put up with reproofs and the kicks of the white men. Our fate is more insupportable if we go out leaving our country. .. .. .. Our ~~country~~ condition is gradually growing worse. .. .. .. There is no protection for one's honour and life. SWARAJ is the only remedy for all this. There are only two ways for attaining this. One is by openly or secretly killing ~~(the members of)~~ the Government and securing SWARAJ. Our ancestors have declared that this violent way is not good. Nor is this possible. The second course 'non-co-operation', is therefore our refuge. The Government have done us great injustice. We should not therefore render them any help. If we do so, we share in the injustice done by them and the consequent sin. Avoiding that sin is the first use of non-co-operation. .. .. Our schools cultivate a slave mentality. How can slaves deliver their country? We should not go to such schools. We should likewise boycott Legislative Councils, courts and titles.

54. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 28th May, in the course of a communicated English article under this head-line criticising

Is Mr. Gandhi a traitor?

an article in the MADRAS MAIL wherein Mr. Gandhi has been dubbed a traitor, and defending certain statements alleged to have been made by Mr. Gandhi regarding the present Government of this country, writes:- " .. .. The existing Government is intolerable to Mr. Gandhi to which Indian is it not tolerable? To lose 2,000 innocent brethren in the Punjab can never be tolerable to any Indian. To submit to the order of crawling

BEFORE the majesty of an insignificant servant of Government can never be tolerable to any self-respecting Indian. To have a band of patriots incarcerated for what is considered a merit in England and other civilized countries can never be tolerable to any Indian having even a ray of self-respect. To groan under the provisions of the Rowlatt and other lawless acts can never be tolerable to Indians animated by patriotism. Mr. Gandhi says nothing against the British Government. He speaks of the existing Government or the Government hat made their administration intolerable by un-British Acts - Acts that have trampled all British Justice and fair-play under foot. He adds that the existing Government is the greatest danger to the manhood of India. Did not the Great Britain obtain its supremacy in India with the help of the Indians? Has not the Government of India disarmed and emasculated India? Is Mr. Gandhi wrong when he says that the existing Government -- a Government which perpetrates this process of emasculation, is the greatest danger to the manhood of India? Is not Mr. Gandhi the truest and the best of the friends and supporters of the British Empire, and has he not proved his real friendship and support by fearlessly calling a spade a spade? He wants to mend the present Government of India. He does not want to end it. He wants the Government of India to adopt the principles of the British constitution and not the mandates of the Czars of Russia and Shahs of Persia. .. .. I think that Mr. Gandhi is a paragon of loyalty and patriotism. His loyalty to the British throne is as pure, unmixed, and sterling as his patriotism for his country is pure, unmixed and sterling."

The present unrest.

55. In an article under the heading 'the present unrest', the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 25th May, regrets that instead of trying to remove the causes of the non-co-operation movement, The orders issued by some administrators and their actions are going amiss. whether the action of the Government officials, who are said

to have, torn Mr. Gandhi's photos at the car festival at Bhadrachalam, can be justified, and observes that acts calculated to check non-co-operation should not be such as will tend to help it ~~to~~ or to create disgust and agitation.

The paper takes exception to the remark of the MADRAS MAIL that Mr. Gandhi is a seditionist and traitor, and points out the mischief resulting from such ~~of~~ references in the Anglo Indian press. It wishes that the Government of Lord Reading will help the progress and prosperity of the country and will work for the maintenance of its peace and tranquility.

56. In an article under the heading 'Government Officials and non-co-operation', a correspondent, writing in BHAJE-KERALAM, of the 28th May, characterises the action of the Madras Government in authorising its servants to check the non-co-operation movement as shortsighted and ill-advised and doubts ~~whether~~ this mean and naked resort to repression is not a prelude to another Punjab calamity? He thinks that it is the duty of the officials to consider how far their abuse of power is likely to meet with success at this time when the demon has gained in importance, and the writer doubts whether the efforts of the rulers to defeat the non-co-opeation movement may not end in their own defeat.

Government Officials and non-co-operation.

58. The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 30th May, points out that the Police high-handedness at Ottapalam was twice as serious as the Punjab atrocity, and observes:- If a Collector like Mr. Thomas and Mr. Hitchcock, who is reputed to be a clever superintendent of Police, should really have taken part in such mean affair, it has to be inferred that our present Government will not hesitate to do anything to uphold their prestige. .. .. .. The non-official committee says that the

The Ottapalam fracas.

District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police wanted to create a disturbance by persecuting the Moplas in order to justify their previous report of the inflammability of Eraad and Walluvanad. The event at Ottapalam will tend to enhance the mistrust of the people towards the Government. .. .. .. It is evident that the Government had previously made up their minds to create a disturbance.

The trumpet call for self-Government.

59. In the course of an article under this heading 'The ~~triumpat~~ trumpet call for self Government,' published in the VEERA-KERALAM of the 11th May, the writer makes the following among other remarks:- "What can peaceful Indians do to save mother India from this misfortune, except resorting to non-co-operation to drive away the foreign enemies (or rogues) who by their rule for the last one hundred and fifty years have deprived six crores of Indians of their food and home, who are so ungrateful as to mete out cruel and ignoble ~~treat~~ treatment to poor Indians taken to other countries, and who by killing the home-industries of Indians squeeze out sixty crores of rupees for the benefit of the merchants of Manchester. .. .. .. If Indians stick to non-co-operation with a fixity of purpose, the heavy artillery of the English will be useless. .. .. .. Without trying to allay the unrest by finding out its causes how long can the flood of popular power be damned in by repression? .. .. .. The moderates, who with both hands receive useless letters and titles from hands stained with blood of their Punjab brethren who are mere puppets in the hands of foreigners, sell their self respect to the foreigners for self-aggrandisement, are axes to destroy the beauty of mother Bharatha and are double-headed vipers traitors to their country, etc. .. .. .. It may boldly be asserted that Travancoreans cannot get the administrative reforms they are looking forward to, viz., responsible Government ~~direct~~ so long as the advice, commands and influence of

the Madras Government direct the Government of the State. So long as the borrowed black Resident and the real white one are at the head of affairs, salvation through administrative reforms must recede from us as a mirage in a desert. .. .. ."

60. A leading article in the VEERAKERALAM of the 11th May, under the heading 'Moderates and non-co-operation', expresses similar sentiments on the treachery of Britain and of Indian moderates.

Moderates and non-co-operation.

65. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 27th May, referring to the non-co-operators' assurance that after the attainment of SWARAJ there will be a firm bond of everlasting friendship between Hindus and Muslims, observes that it is unthinkable that there can be any such union between cow worshippers and cow-eaters.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

III. LEGISLATION.

67. In a leading article, the KERALAPATRIKA, of the 28th May, pleads for the repeal of the press laws, points out that the advantage will be as much for the Government as for the press, and, in view of the change in the angle of vision of the Government and their officers, hopes that they will not hesitate to repeal them.

Repeal of the press laws.

68. Observing that the Indian Factory Bill intended to be introduced in the Indian Legislativ Assembly has the object of removing the grievances pointed out by the Public, the HINDU NESAN, of the 21st May, writes:- While men, whose opinions are entitled to weight, have been pointing out time and again that the term

Factory Labour.

'factory' should be made to include also places wherein not less than the labourers are employed on machines, the Government are of the view that only those in which twenty labourers are employed and which use electric power may be brought within the scope of the aforesaid law and that the Local Governments may be empowered to extend the law to factories wherein ten labourers are employed, whether power is used therein or not. Though we feel grateful to the Government for this, we are not satisfied with the grounds on which they have thought fit to prescribe the number (of labourers) as twenty instead of ten. As it is a matter of common knowledge that small factories are not being managed properly and that special inspection is necessary in their case, the Government shouodd not, in the interest of the labourers, hesitate in the least to spend the money required for it. Another, matter claiming our attention is the intended provision in the Bill of a 60 hours' week instead of 48 hours in the face of objections. It is not proper for the capitalists to insist on longer hours, when only a 48 hours' week is being advocated in other places. None can help pitying the mill labourers in Bombay, whose employees want them to work for 10 hours a day. After working for so many hours, where is the time needed for rest? We are sure that it will be of advantage to the employers to allow their employees sufficient time for rest and to observe the weekly holidays.

Press Act Enquiry Committee.

69. In its leader and a note on the Press Act Enquiry Committee, the HITAKARINI, of the 23rd May, writes to the following effect:- Mr. Gokhale and Lord Sinha adopted duplicity that goes by name of policy, voted in favour of the Press Act, and wiped the tears of the critics saying that the Act would not be arbitrarily applied. Ever since this Act was put into force, it has worked like a bouble-edged weapon and claimed many papers as its victims, as is well-known to our readers, without discriminating right from wrong, and justice from injustice......

A doubt always ~~(iscriminati)~~ haunts our bosom. We have known too well the results of committees to expect any benefit from this committee of inquiry. If the popular wish is to be fulfilled, the Act must be completely annulled. We suspect that the final result will be a few amendments here and there which may be used by the Government according to their convenience and this drama will only end in useless expenditure, and not in the satisfaction of the members. Will this bureaucratic Government consent to a complete annulling of this Act in conformity with the wishes of the people? Will it not be ~~sxxbxex~~ subversive of their prestige if they conform to the wishes of the people? Will not the bureaucracy on one side, the Anglo-Indian press on the other, and the moderates above all redicule the Government as weak and importent, if they yield to agitation? The ~~ne~~enemies of the Congress hold that the country is deprived of the benefits of the reforms on account of the acts of the non-violent non-co-operators, and preach that our salvation lies in co-operation. We shall see if they open their eyes now.

For the week ending 11th June 1921.

No. 24th of 1921.

ENGLISH POLITICS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

~~21~~ (k) General.

The apology of the Ali Brothers.

2. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 2nd June has the following:-"The outstanding event of the week in India is not the prohibitory order issued the other day at Tirur, not the threatened strike of Madras City Policemen, nor the attempt of the Indian Tea Association to explain away the ~~whol~~ wholesale exodus of tea garden coolies from Assam, nor even Mr. Gandhi's expression of disappointment, at Matunga, ~~at the~~

~~next page~~

Apology of Ali Brothers. West Coast Spectator, 2nd June

at the very poor results made, during the past two months, in introducing 20 lakhs of charakas, enlisting a crore of members for the Congress and collecing a crore of rupees for the Tilak SWARAJ fund. Without doubt, the week's out-standing and most profoundly sensational event has been the more or less unqualified, if belated, apology publicly made by Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali for speeches of theirs which had a distinct tendency to incite to violence. In our opinion, this public apology derives its sensational and out-standing character from the circumstances under which it was made. .. .. .. While Ali brothers have sought to make it appear that this public apology of theirs is due to their recognition of the force of their friends, interpretation of some of their speeches, a press communique issued by the Government of India puts a very different complexion on the whole matter. From this official statement, it transpires that a few weeks back, the Government of India had actually decided to prosecute the two brothers for certain inflammatory and seditious speeches which had been delivered a little while previously in the United Provinces. Apparently, when it came to the push, the two brothers preferred discretion to bravado and sensibly decided to tender a public apology and to give an undertaking that they would hereafter abstain from making speeches calculated to incite to violence. If the brothers had been really convinced that there was nothing harmful in any of their speeches or writings, it is hardly likely that they would have given an apology of the kind which they have now publicly tendered. It is to be hoped that they will strictly keep the undertaking which they have given. .. .. .. Now, as one result of the unbridled utterances of the Ali Brothers, we are likely to see the Government of India's latest decision to enforce the criminal law against disaffection and sedition acted upon by the local Governments with a zeal which might sometimes outrun discretion and also go beyond the actual necessity of the political situation.

situation. Of course, wherever disaffection and sedition actually shows itself, it is the plain duty of the Government and its Officers, to take action in order to uphold constituted authority and ensure public peace and security, but, unfortunately, we have not unfrequently seen that official zeal is apt to do more harm than good, when hastily or indiscreetly exercised.

3. The WEST COAST REFORMER, of the 3rd June, writes:-

Non-co-operation.

"We have said more than once that Indians politics was going in the wrong way under the pilotage of the nationalist non-co-operators... ... What shall be the fate of this movement, if the 1st of July dawns on the prescribed conditions yet unfulfilled, is matter for sad reflection. The one year allotted for the complete attainment of the nationalists' aspirations has yet but four months to run. The proclamation of SWARAJ fondly hoped for by the ardent nationalist seems destined to be buried unread. This is certainly a calamity which has he cannot contemplate with non-chalance. It is therefore a question that must inevitably arise as to whether the broken hopes shall ever revive to procure the services of the untiring workers of neo-politicians for the cause of our country. We do not share the bitter pessimism of the Mahatma that we would not get self-government if his prescription be not faithfully adhered to. India must certainly grow into a free nation with all the attributes of self-determination which freedom carries with it. We think, as we have often said before that the method is not non-co-operation but co-operation. We have been started on this long journey by Great Britain. She has provided patrols at definite stages to watch us through it. We have to reach our destination safe with her help and advice. To spurn these would mean the necessary blocking up of the right path and straying into thorny ways, beset with dangerous pitfalls.

We do not hesitate to pronounce the declaration at Bombay by the Mahatma as an unequivocal confession of failure. We hope that the people of our country will now at least wake up to clear consciousness of the impracticable and unpractical policy which they are after. It must prove a wild goose chase, and we are sure that there is no advantage gained either in this world or in the next by following up this phantom."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in South Africa.

5. Referring to the resolution said to have been carried in a meeting of the Indian residents of Nairoti in South Africa declaring their determination not to pay taxes so long as they were not given representation in the Legislative and municipal bodies, the NAVASAKTI, of the 27th May, remarks:- It is certain that our brethren will be subject to much suffering if this resolution be given effect to. But we cannot but undergo countless hardships, if we shouls secure our birthrights -- especially under a Government which is puffed up with racial racial arrogance and is ever desirous of keeping others under subjection. It is as sure as anything that the sway of the whites would not have been established on a firm basis in South Africa but for the sacrifices of the Poor Indians who settled there. In accordance with the general characteristic of the white race, those in South Africa pretended to treat the Indians with consideration so long as their help was needed and now try to send them out on finding that they are a hindrance to their ~~help was needed and now try to send them out on finding that they are a hindrance to their~~ permanent advancement. The Indians had been claiming representation from a long time ago and we trust they will determinately carry on the fight, which they have begun now.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

Rewards to Policemen.

13. Adverting to the rewards sanctioned by the Madras Government to certain policemen in appreciation of their services in connexion with the labourers' strike at Perambur, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th May, observes that it is not aware of the Policemen having done anything noteworthy, beyond unjustly shooting down the labourers and the people and that the Government have perhaps rewarded them for this alone.

The highhandedness of the Police.

14. Remarking that while, in all civilized Governments, the Police are maintained solely for the purpose of protecting honest and inoffensive people from the mischief of wicked men, most of the Policemen in India show by their conduct that they are under the impression that they have been invested with a power to inflict harm upon the people without fear of punishment, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 31st May, observes:- Though we cannot say that the British officials themselves have created this feeling in them, still the manner in which the bureaucrats dispose of cases brought against policemen serves to instil this idea into them. The conduct of the Police who, at Ottapalam, beat the peaceful conference volunteers and leaders, who in Northern India, caused trouble in various ways to the non-co-operationist Mr. Ganga Sankar and to the Brahman who lodged him in his house and who, at Bangalore, brought a charge against a Muhammadan jatkawallah for having refused to drive a Mussalman co-operator with Government, is very high-handed. What action do the Government propose to take against them for the serious fault of having induced the camelmen by threats not to supply Mr. Ganga Shankar with a camel for hire? It is patent from the silence of the higher authorities that there

are none in this country to bring the Police, who commit such highhanded acts, to book. What could be done if the hedge itself should destroy the crop?

The Highhandedness of the Police at Kanniseri.

15. Adverting to the manner in which the Police are said to have exercised their authority against one Mr. Chakravarti Ayyangar who carried on a SWADESHI propaganda in Kanniseri in connection with a cattle fair held there, the DESABHAKTAN of the 2nd June, remarks that, if the report is true, that the Police should certainly have been guilty of high-handed acts and trusts that the authorities will inquire into this matter and mete out adequate punishment to those responsible for them.

The C.I.D. and the Crime.

16. Quoting Mr. Pollen, an expert, to have stated in a lecture in London on the 'Indian Police force and Crime', that it is a very great mistake to have a separate department like the C.I.D. in a country like India and that any nation would be destroyed thereby, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd June, remarks that this opinion echoes only that of the Indians and that it is an open secret that cases are concocted ~~conn cted~~ merely ~~that of the Indians and that the it is an open secret that cases are concted merely~~ to justify the existence of this department and adds that it is not surprising that, in these circumstances, the Indians ask for its abolition.

(b) Railways.

Higher appointments to Indians in the Railways.

24. Referring to a pamphlet of the Central Bureau in which the Government is reported to to have decided that higher appointments in railways will be conferred on Indians on a larger scale hereafter, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 7th June, in

a short article, writes:- The Railway authorities seem to be under the delusion that suitable Indians will not be available for one or two departments requiring mechanical knowledge. Can it be that the Indians will not show fitness for these departments only when they have shown extraordinary intelligence and capacity for work in all the other departments? This misapprehension is, in our opinion, due to not having conferred such appointments at all on the Indians up till now. We hope that the Indians will be given access into these departments of Railway administration hereafter at least, and that the favouritism rampant hitherto would soon disappear.

The Railway service in India.

25. In the course of a leading article under the heading 'the Railway service in India,' the MANORAMA, of the 31st May, points out that the chief complaints against the management of Railways in India are the Indians, though competent, are not given higher appointments in the Railway service, and that as in the case of Government service, the salary of the higher posts is far too high while that of the lower officers is far too low, and observes that in these circumstances it is absolutely necessary that the railways should be brought under State management.

The paper refutes the contention of the Publicity Bureau that racial distinction is not shown in the matter of appointments in the Railway service and thinks that much time and energy are wasted by this institution in dealing with such matters.

(k) General.

The Empire Day.

29. In commenting upon the celebration of the Empire day, the DRAVIDAN, of the 25th May, refers to the loyalty of the Indians to their sovereign and remarks:- The object of the British Government, which is founded on justice and is entirely

free from partiality, is only the gradual establishment of democracy. It is of the view that despotic and autocratic sway is undesirable, and, in keeping with it, substantial reforms leading to self-government in course of time have been granted to us. No body can gainsay that, in the present state of our country, which is torn up by class and caste feuds and is subject to the domination of the Brahmans, it is not desirable to grant complete self-government at a single stroke. May the British Government, which has given us the reforms on such deep consideration and done good to us, exist for ever and benefit us!

The present political situation.

31. Observing that the common feeling of disappointment at one's failure to achieve the anticipated victory at the right moment and the tendency to relax one's efforts at the appearance of some signs of victory are detrimental to success, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th May, says:- The days are past when our non-co-operation movement would be wrecked by the former attitude of mind. The only thing therefore that we should guard ourselves against at this moment, is the indifference resulting from this false confidence. The opinion now expressed by a correspondent to the BOMBAY CHRONICLE confirms the belief that is prevelent at present thoroughout India, that Lord Reading would do his best to secure SWARAJ for India. We find that this belief has induced a peculiar joy in the mind of the people and caused some relaxation in our efforts. But if, on this account, we relax even a bit, the day of realization of our hopes will recede far away. We would therefore humbly exhort our patriots, not to exhibit even the slightest indifference in the discharge of their duties on account of that hope. We have known for a long time that it is the inborn nature of English men to make a pretence of offering to us a substantial thing us only a nominal thing and proclaim to the world also that they when they have granted what was desired, with a liberal mind. You should, therefore, without abating your zeal march onward.

Referring to the anxiety of the public throughout the country as to the result of the interview of Mr. Gandhi with the Viceroy and inviting the attention of its readers to the speech of the latter at a dinner given to him in which he stated that it was owing to the intervention of Mr. Gandhi that the Ali brothers expressed regret for violence in their speeches, the SWADESAMITRAN, ~~OF THE 1ST~~ of the 1st June writes:- If the Government had begun to take steps with their usual shortsightedness, we cannot definitely say what commotion and disturbance it might not have caused in the country, resulting in not only trouble to the people, but also harm ultimately to the Government itself. But the attempts of the Viceroy to eschew that method and adopt peaceful means are commendable indeed. If any one should, however, think that this conciliatory attitude of the Viceroy to eschew that method and adopt peaceful means are commendable indeed. If any one should, however, think that this conciliatory attitude of the Viceroy in regard to a trivial matter will, of itself, make the way easy for the redress of India's grievances, he will be thoroughly mistaken. It is also wrong for one to derive any consolation from the fact that the Viceroy conversed with much earnestness and good faith on weighty matters also, as it is only by our own efforts that we should win SWARAJ. Mr. Gandhi expects only that Lord Reading will be favourably disposed towards such efforts and not that he would grant SWARAJ. Though Lord Reading, has, in his recent utterances, taken care not to offend any of the parties, his statement that there should be perfect equality between the Europeans and Indians and that all differences of status as sic among the two should be done away ~~with~~ which deserves to be appreciated by the Indian public. But, how ever, generous these words may be, their effect will have to be seen only in the future. Will the Viceroy, without any delay, proceed to take the steps therefor often pointed out by our leaders and the National Congress and prove the truth of this statement? ~~We~~

We request him to come to a conclusion and, beginning to act, render justice to us.

Referring to the same speech, of the Viceroy and remarking that it was full of lofty ideas, the DESABHAKTAN of the 2nd June, observes:- We feel grateful to Lord Reading for these undoubtedly high aims. But the speech is also interspersed with the expression of incorrect views. Lord Reading stated that it was the fundamental principle of the British rule that there should be no racial discrimination between Europeans and Indians in India. But he has perhaps forgetten that the contention of a Britisher in a Court at Patna that he should not be tried by an Indian judge was only in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. Had there been no difference between Indians and Europeans on considerations of race, a certain high official would not have declared that he would take away the lives of a thousand Indians for every English life, nor would Dyer, have ordered all, the Indians who had to pass through a certain lane to crawl on their bellies like worms, because some wicked persons insulted an English woman, nor would the higher authorities have failed to punish him for such conduct. It would therefore be inconsistent to say that impartiality is the root-principle of the British administration. Lord Reading said that, from his conversation with many Indians, he found a genuine feeling of friendship existing between Indians and Englishmen. He would be committing a great mistake if he believed this feeling to be true, as his conclusion is based on his talk with Indian toadies having no spirit of nationality or sense of self-respect, and a statesmanship shaped in consonance with this notion will not lead to the end desired by us on Lord Reading. To allay the present agitation in India, not only should be the root-cause be correctly ascertained, but there should also be action suited thereto. This is the remedy to be applied first to heal the heart-sore of India. Then, without stopping with the honeyed words of justice, equality and equal partnership, he should at once

imbue the administration with these charecteristics and secure righteous rule in this land. We do not at present wish to go further than the view expressed by Lord Reading that a Government should be judged only from its acts.

Repression in Bannu.

32. Adverting to a telegram said to have been sent by a student from Banu to the Aligarh College that all the Khilafat Panchayat Officers there had been imprisoned, that people in villages had been shot with machine guns and that the chastity of women too had been violated for their doing Khilafat work, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th May, writes:- We do not wish to write much on this subject without corroboration from other sources. But, for the student to have sent this news by telegram, he should have had sufficient evidence on hand. When we look at the past history of the English officials, it is impossible for us to brush this aside, as being an unvarnished lie. If even the honour of our women is not safe, it is better for us to give up our lives, than live under such a rule. Will not this news at least whip us into making ceaseless efforts for the attainment of SWARAJ? We request those who, from the proceedings of the interview between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi, are dreaming that SWARAJ is in sight, to note the above telegram.

Treachery in high quarters.

35. Referring to the contents of the letters published by it under this heading and said to have passed between the Maharaja of Kolhapur and certain British Officials, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 31st May, remarks:- Which true Indian will not shed tears to see the Maharaja of Kolhapur, who is a ruling King, forgetting the dignity and lofty statesmanship of his ancestors, and acting as a spy to the English Government like the base Anglo-Indians who class all persons seeking freedom alike as anarchist murderers? When one peruses the series of

letters written by him, viligying the Indians and feeling complacent over the complimentary words used by the English Officials, one will indeed be excited to laughter and struck with sorrow at the same time. To see the lineal descendant of Sivaji, who protected the Brahmans and sacrificed his all for the redemption of his country, hate the Brahmans merely because of their caste, have relations with the lowest among the bureaucrats who have enslaved his country and abuse his countrymen in his communications to those bureaucrats makes us feel sorry for the depth to which the slavish spirit has sunk in the country.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd June, also refers to these letters and remarks:- We may presume that these letters are genuine from the fact that there has been no contradiction about them till now. It is clearly established by them that many British officials, falling into the net of this reactionary, have as usual given their support to all his improper acts and themselves committed many unjust acts with his assistance. Though most of the officials concerned have retired from service and gone out of the country, we understand that some of them are still continuing in service. We do not know what action is going to be taken against them for their conduct. The Government are also bound to take notice of the Maharaja's conduct and take proper steps, as the Council of Indian Princes is constituted in such a way that it cannot be expected to deal with the matter satisfactorily. There is no salvation for the unfortunate subjects of the State unless Lord Reading interferes in this matter and gives them proper redress. Will Lord Reading act up to his oft-repeated statement that he wished to do justice to India?

36. In its leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 31st May, ~~refers with~~ refers with gladness to the news that the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Cocanada has discharged the non-co-operation leaders against whom security proceedings were teken and remarks:- There is no doubt that all who go through the report of the case carefully will conclude that the proceedings were started against the leaders solely with the view of crushing the non-co-operation movement and that there was no ground for an apprehension of imminent breach of the peace to necessitate action under Section 107, Criminal Procedure Code. There were no voilent acts in the Andhra country because of the spread of non-co-operation and every one can easily infer the beneficial character of the movement from this circumstances. The action of a high district Official in having subjected respectable men to an unjust prosecution and caused them trouble in sever ways is in keepinng only with the bureaucratic system of administration and does not indicate an impartial procedure. But the sufferings inflicted upon true non-co-operators will serve only to add to their honour and to strengthen the movement and not hinder it in any way. Will the authorities realize this hereafter at least?

The triumph of non-co-operation.

37. Referring to this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st June, observes: Irrespective of the time when the means by which we may attain SWARAJ, so long as the present Government rule over us and we pay taxes to them, we have certainly the right to compel them to effect certain immediate reforms so that the ordinary features of civilized life may be secured to us. One of them is the freedom of speech. The issue of a strict order to the Military and the Police not to use fire-arms on unarmed people is another. A third important item is to insist that the treatment meted out to thieves and murderers

The condition of political prisoners.

should not be accorded to political prisoners, but that they should be treated as in other civilized countries.

The Raja of Ramnad and the non-co-operation movement.

39. Referring to a letter said to have been sent by the Raja of Ramnad to the press eulogising the achievements of the new Legislative Council and remarking that he would not have dared to praise them had he known that most of his countrymen would not believe his statement, the DESABHAKTAN of the 1st June, writes:- He questions why the Government exhibit weakness by not declaring the non-co-operation movement, which is carried on with so much vigour and severity, to be a seditious one and says that, if this be done, it will come to an end. We are only very sorry that he should have failed to give this piece of rare advice earlier. If he had done so, he might have been of invaluable assistance to Lord Chelmsford and obtained a seat on his Executive Council. We had great expectations from the Raja who is a descendant of the ancient Tamil Kings. But there is no doubt that his statement on the present situation in the country will only gladden the hearts of our enemies.

Strike in the Carnatic Mills.

41. Adverting to the strike of the labourers in the Carnatic Mills, the DRAVIDAN, of the 1st June, observes:- It is very necessary that the proprietors should be sympathetic towards the workmen and it is also, on the other hand, unbecoming on the part of the latter to kick up a row for some trivial reason and go on strike and threaten the former. Unless both parties conduct themselves justly and co-operate with each other, the condition of both will be unsatisfactory. It is only with the object of considering the complaints of labourers and affording them relief, that the 'Labour Commissioner,' has been appointed and we wish to know what work meriting public praise he has been doing . We learn that he has not till now been able to bring

the matters referred to above to a satisfactory conclusion. Why should not this work be entrusted to the Director of Industries himself? What have the Government to say in regard to the charge that the appointment of special officers like the Labour Commissioner involves a large expenditure of public money?

The non-co-operation movement.

44. Remarking that the very fact that Mr. Gandhi, whose principle was absolute non-co-operation with the Government, consented to see the Viceroy may be regarded as a climb down, the DRAVIDAN, of the 1st June, observes:- There is room for thinking that Mr. Gandhi is striving to conceal his defeat in his having renounced his former position and seen the Viceroy, by making it appear as if he had converted the latter to his view. But the Viceroy will not be deluded by all this. The Government have stopped taking action against the Ali brothers for some violent speech, as the latter expressed their regret therefore. We may , therefore, say with certainty that the non-co-operation movement is subsiding in a way.

The Congress propaganda.

45. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th May, publishes an account of a public meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 23rd Idem in connexion with the Congress Propaganda work, in which one Mr. Gopalam Nayar, is reported to have spoken to the effect that people should boycott foreign cloth and liquors, and that the Government were deceiving them as might be seen from the fact that they notified that they were going to fix the price of the sovereign at Rs.10 and asked the public to change all the sovereign in their possession at Rs.15 within a specified date, whereas the soveriegn is now selling in the market at Rs.19.

..48. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd June, reproduces under

'A pet child of the Government.'

this heading, an article from the MAHRATTA about a new post having been found for Mr. J.P. Johnson in the Foreign Political Department of the Government of India, in which the following observations find place among others:- Besides his responsibility for the cruelties committed in the Punjab during the Martial Law period, when he was the Chief Secretary of that Government, he committed many shameless acts as a civil officer also. But the Viceroy who has been saying that he was worshipping only at the shrine of justice, has conferred a new appointment on such a man. If Lord Reading is one who will administer justice, as he says, he must respect the wishes of the Indians and send out of this land, bag and baggage, all the 'wretches' that took part in the Punjab massacre. It is only then the heart-sore of the people will be healed and justice too will have been done.

50. Referring to the non-violent nature of the non-co-

The nature of the movement.

operation movement, the ANDHRA-PATRIKA, of the 1st June, observes in its leader:- Lord Reading on his own admission, is confident of the observance of the vow of non-violence by the people. Will the Government also observe the same vow? Will they themselves adopt the precept which they offer to the people? .. If the Government should abandon their ideas of prestige and follow DHARMA, the present problem can easily be solved. A policy of repression will only make it more critical. The Viceroy's action in giving higher appointments to persons like Mr. Thompson would only go to show a solicitude for prestige rather than justice. .. .. If the Indians observe the vow of non-violence with still greater sincerity, the Government also cannot but treat the same path.

52. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd June,

Lord Reading's speech.

writes:- The hopes of the Indians which were frustrated during the regime of Lord Chelmsford have again been raised in their minds during the time of Lord Reading. But would their desires be fulfilled merely by depending on the Viceroy? The Viceroy is, after all, a part of the bureaucratic machine and, as such, it is impossible to think that India will attain her salvation through the Viceroys who come and go. Lord Reading should understand this to be the reason for the desire to attain SWARAJ on the part of the Indians. In his speech, Lord Reading did not dwell on the importance of the public opinion . He said that racial differences would not be shown and ought not to be shown. .. .. But this difference will be seen in every department. In the Arms Act, in the Penal Code and in the other Acts of the country, the difference between the Indian and a European is clearly seen. This is shown in a greater degree in the administration of law in this country. Section 124-A and the provisions of the Press Act have very often been used against the Indian Press and not agianst the Anglo-Indian press. Many courts have sent away with light puhishment European offenders who beat the Indians even to death. When such case were brought against the Indians, they were subjected to severe punishment. We have to see how far Lord Reading, will be able to keep to his promise that an Indian will not suffer indignity by reason of his birth. .. .. There will not be the least opportunity for resort to violence by the people, provided care is taken to see that the authorities do not necessarily interfere with them. .. .. Unless SWARAJ is attained people will not be satisfied at the present time. If Lord Reading wishes the well-being of the country, he must help the people to achieve their desires. This is his primary duty.

54. Co-operation. Writing about the interview between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading and about co-operation, the VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 28th May, observes in its leader:- Just in the same way that wild animals are beaten with whatsoever is near at hand, the authorities have been disgracing the non-co-operators by saying whichever comes uppermost to them and by acting as they please. There are orders to the effect that the act of installing Mr. Gandhi's picture on cars should be considered to be a heinous crime. The Magistrates under this rule have power to pronounce even standing, seeing, and breathing as crimes. The beauty of this Government is that even highly evil acts become just when they are done in the name of law. If Lord Reading had raised his banner of justice only in pursuance of such laws, it is no good to us. On the contrary, if he raised the standard of DHARMA which must be accepted as just in the presence of God, it is our duty to co-operate with the Government. .. .. It is impossible for us to attain success without non-co-operation spreading fully all over the country. The Government have still not left off their idea of curbing the people through violence. This idea will not undergo any change unless the Government are awakened to a sense of DHARMA. The affairs of Ireland make this clear. As Ireland offered violence, it may be perhaps reasonable for the Government to have offered violence in return to them. But In India heavy punishments are meted out even for making mere speeches. Mr. Gandhi will not be cheated by mere words. The Indians cannot attain happiness unless they fully experience the fruit of their past sins. They cannot free India unless they personally undergo PRAYASCHITTA (purification) by the adoption of SATYAGRAHA.

55. The BALABHARATI, of the 15th April, makes remarks to those contained in article No.60 on page 610 of Report No.21 of 1921.

Non-co-operation.

Anent the suspension of a Karnam by the Collector of Godavari for the reason that he took part in the non-co-operation movement, the GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 15th March, observes that the official position of the Karnam being different from that of the other Government Officials, the Collector is not justified in passing such an order on him.

56. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 28th May, has the following in English:- "We regret that Doctor Ganpat Rao should have been reverted to his post of Assistant Surgeon, while his juniors are in District charges. This is the inevitable result of the present Brahman-hunting policy of the Ministry. Doctor Ganpat Rao has been very popular, but he is not the only sufferer. The shameless policy of the Ministry is introducing a new spirit in the country.

Passing Events.

"Messrs. B. Muniswami Nayudu, C.R.Parthasarathy Ayyangar, sowcar Mir Hussain Sahib, and Rev. John Kay are the members of the Depressed classes selected by the Ministry for nomination to the Chittoor Municipality. There is no representative of the Panchama class. The inclusion of the first two names can only be pronounced as a downright abuse of the powers conferred by the Act."

61. The GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 3rd May published letters from correspondents describing the high-handed and outrageous acts of the police, the Magistrate and other officers in connexion with the car festivals of Bhadrachalam and Vadapalli,

Success of non-co-operation.

c.✓

remarks that such interference in religious processions is opposed to Royal Proclamations, counsels the authorities to have recourse to law for a decision as to whether the carrying along of Mr. Gandhi's picture in processions is objectionable, observes that the confidence in the English Government will decline by the authorities taking to crooked ways; and exciting the indignation of the people by acts such as the tearing away of the picture of Mr. Gandhi and the ill-treating of the people, and notes that the patience of the people on such occasions points to the success of non-co-operation.

64. Under this heading the BALABHARATI, of the 20th May,

Change in the Congress creed.

writes, in its leader:- The Nagpur Congress resolved to adopt the Principle of self-help for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ. What is SWARAJ? Should it be within the Empire or outside it? That need not concern us now that India wants immediately is SWARAJ. When it is granted within the Empire, nobody will be foolish enough to say sincerely that he does not want the British connexion. But unless the British people also desire this connexion on the abasis of equal respect and goodwill, this cannot continue long. While the British are trying to keep the country in bondage, how can the Indians execute an agreement to the effect that they want the British connexion at any cost? It is mere illusion to suppose that co-operation is possible between a ruling nation and a nation of slaves. What is the fate of Indians if they are ever considered as slaves? Where is the hope if the rulers continue their bureauratic and selfish administrative policy? No section of the Indians sincerely desire to sever the ~~admin~~ British connexion. If the British have any such good desire, they must abandon their ideas of prestige, treat the Indians with equal respect, grant SWARAJ to them in accordance with the principle of self-determination and thus perpetuate their rule in this country.

65. The HITAKARINI, of the 30th May, writes under this heading:- The constitution of our new Viceroy is being gradually revealed. The new policy of administration is to some extent disclosed in his reply to the address of the Simla Municipality. .. .. .. While there are many Indian famalies afflicted with unhealable wounds in the Punjab agitation, the attention of the Viceroy confines itself to a few European families who suffered by having been the originators of this agitation. The sums granted by way of compensation to these families shows the even-handed justice and the universal sympathy of the Viceroy. Though a few by birth, he is a European an and by his long connexion with the English he has contracted an affinity with that nation. Some of the sums granted as compensation were done so without sufficient grounds. .. .. May not similar compensations be granted to Indians also?

Should we commend or condemn?

70. In the course of its leading article urging immediate action in obedienee to the urgent call of the Congress for 'men, money and munitions,' the MUSLIM, of the 2nd June points out that Indians cannot look for the realization of their natural rights or for the fulfilment of their aspirations so long as they remain in subjection to, and in terror of, a few foreigners. 'We have decided therefore,' it says 'that English foreigners may only remain in India to carry out our behests but no longer to lord it over us.'

Call of the Congress for 'men, money and munitions.'

For the week ending 18th June 1921.

No.25 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Non-co-operation.

1. The MADRAS REVIEW, of the 7th May, writes:- "For opposing the non-co-operation movement, the palm must be awarded among the individuals to Mrs. Besant and among the Government, to the Government of the United Provinces. We see every day that some sort of meeting is set up against non-co-operation, and the new Ministers, with characteristic lack of humour, addressing such meetings. It is no longer anti-non-co-operation propaganda, but it is to be anti-revolutionary League. This sounds nice. If India suffers from any political malady, what business has she to suffer, much less, complain of her suffering when Englishmen come and Englishmen go and at great sacrifice, live in this land of regrets. When we are doing everything for you, my dear fellow, why do you want to do it yourself? This must be the spirit of the bottom of those who are engaged in a counter-propaganda. The new Viceroy has asked for time to study Indian problems. Should not decency prompt these counter-organisers to wait for sometime more until the new Viceroy makes up his mind? But to expect decency from the anti-non-co-operationists -- no, we shall leave it at that lest we should provoke the ire of this gang."

Professor Gidwani's prosecution.

2. JANMABHUMI, of the 26th May, has the following:- "Gidwani is to be prosecuted for sedition under Section 124-A in Krishna ere long, Government seem to have approved of the proceeding. We cannot imagine a more thoughtless act on the part of the Government than that involved in this decision.

If Government is only concerned about law and order then we have no doubt that law and order are best maintained by letting sleeping dogs lie. Gidwani is not a native of the district; he spoke but once or twice in this district. He spoke on national Education on 2nd April at Bezwada. The speech was heard by many. It has, perhaps, been fairly forgotten. Neither the Police nor the Magistracy in the district was worried in the matter. The Government of Madras have SOUMOTTO INITIATED proceedings. This is the most unwise thing they have done. That they do not embark on the prosecution because law and order are imperilled is evident. Why, then, do they pursue this fatuous policy? Merely to enforce disciplinary measures, to maintain the prestige of the bureaucracy. Surely the process is far too costly and far too cumbersome for the achieving of those ends. We have all along spoken from the standpoint of Government and of the sober co-operators. From our own standpoint, we rejoice, for we cannot have both the grist and the cake. We cannot preach revolution and pin ourselves to our homes. What we sow we reap. We have sown the wind and we must reap the whirlwind."

3. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 9th June, writes:-

The apology of the Ali brothers. we had devoutly hoped that the clumsy character of their apology notwithstanding, the Ali brothers would at least respect the undertaking which they had solemnly and publicly given, as much to the Government as to their own fellow countrymen. .. Unhappily, it now turns out that all our hopes, and the Hopes of the country as a whole, were illusory from the very moment that the brothers issued their apology and promise. Hardly a week has elapsed, and we have Mr. Muhammad Ali indignantly, unambiguously and, we are constrained to add, unscrupulously repudiating both the apology and the undertaking. In the course of his presidential address last week at the Gujeral Provincial

Khilafat Conference, Mr. Muhammad Ali, in effect, positively ridiculed the assumption or belief that he and his brother had offered an apology or made any undertaking, in the manner ascribed to them by virtually everybody who had read the document jointly signed and issued by them. He now unequivocally denied that he had apologised to the Government, that his brother or he had acted under fear of a criminal prosecution, and that either of them had admitted that any passages in their speeches warranted the interpretation of incitements to violence. .. It is now plain beyond all doubt that the apology and undertaking were really insincere, and that Mr. Muhammad Ali does not intend to abstain from violent utterances, which whether he thinks so or not, are calculated to incite to violence and sedition. .. .. We cannot help thinking that this Gujerat outburst was a great deal more violent and impolitic and Mr. Muhammad Ali's famous Erode speech, and, if Khilafat firebrands persist in inviting repression in this way, the Government, which is, when all is said done, still responsible for public peace and security, could not well be blamed if it accepted the invitation, or, to be quite correct, the challenge, we hope to goodness Mr. Gandhi will recognise the advisability of dissociating himself unreservedly from the latest adventure of His Muhammadan compatriot and co-worker."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians and the British colonies.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN, in its issues of the 4th, 6th, 7 th and 8th June publishes a series of letters from the pen of one Mr. C. Rajagopala Nayudu on the condition of Indians in the British colonies.

Adverting to the letters referred to above, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th June, remarks that the question of the status of Indians in the British colonies and elsewhere is second

in importance only to the question of SWARAJ and, pointing to the opinion expressed by the Prime Minister of Cadada that this question should not at all be brought before the Imperial Conference this time, and that, if it be done, the matter should rest merely with the ascertaining of the opinions of the representatives, writes:- It is certain that the Ministers of Australia and South Africa will not evince any anxiety to arrive at a quick decision on the point. The only decision that can ~~be deome~~ become to on this point is that the Indians in other countries should be given the same treatment that the people of other countries wish to receive in India. The Ministers of the colonies also realise this as clearly as we do; but they want to reap as much advantage as possible before the final time arrives. It is difficult to give up easily even the delight of treating others badly. Even the fear that ~~oh~~ their trade, ~~mixa~~ marriage relations, etc. will be seriously affected by treating Indians as their equals and allowing them to settle in their countries in large numbers is working in the minds of the 'whites' along with their old racial arrogance and pride of authority. It is the duty of the Indian Government to urge upon the British Government to adopt such a course and the responsibility of making the Indian Government discharge that duty rests purely with us, Indians.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastriar in London

10. Referring to the doubts expressed by the Bombay Chronicle, in regard to the genuineness of the views which Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar, is said to have given expresion to In London in the matter of the rights of the Indians in the colonies and to the statement of that paper that many people suspect that that the Government have sent him as India's representative to the Imperial Conference knowing that he would not press the case of India, which is also their wish, the SWADESAMITRAN

of the 7th June writes:- The CHRONICLE says that many people suspect that in order to create a good impression in India about the 'Indian representative' who is going to forsake the cause of India in the Imperial Conference, the British statesmen might have enacted one of their usual dramas by causing Mr. Sastri to fling shafts of patriotism in this manner and getting the news cabled atonce to India. Every one may draw his own conclusion from this surmise. But we shall never believe that, except by the adoption of the two courses already suggested by us, of exerting pressure on the English Ministers through the Government of India and establishing SWARAJ here the Indians in the colonies are going to obtain equal rights merely by the grace of Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Vacancies in the High Court Bench.

18. Referring to the filling up of the vacancies in the High Court Bench consequent on the retirement of Sir John Wallis and Messrs. Napier and Sadasiva Ayyar, the CHRISTIAN outlook, of the 21st May, expresses its wish in its English columns that one at least of the new judges should be an Indian Christian, in recognition of the merits of persons belonging to that community which, it says, have become "obscured from the view of the Government by the damning fact that they belong to a community whose interests can safely be trifled with, viz., the Indian Christian community."

(k) General.

The political situation.

32. Remarking that the interview of Mr. Gandhi with Lord Reading will not bring about any relaxation of efforts in the country as is expected by ~~so me~~ Some persons, the NAVASAKTI, of the 3rd June, Sa ys:- Our goal is SWARAJ and we should not

get dispirited until we reach it. It is not wise, in these days, when the non-co-operation movement is gathering strength, to relax our efforts on hearing that the Government are going to do away with repressive laws. Whether the bureaucracy repeal those laws or ~~(should be wholly)~~ amend them or forge new ones, we are not concerned with their action. We should be wholly intent upon reaching our goal of SWARAJ. The repeal of the Press Act will not secure SWARAJ to us and Mr. Gandhi himself has not, in any way, relaxed his efforts as a result of Interviewing the Viceroy. Others should, therefore, like him, work with zeal.

33. ~~33~~. Stating that the labourers in the Cannatic Mills have struck work not on account of their bonus but as a matter of principle and referring to the statement alleged to have been made by the Labour commissioner that there were no special laws for the labourers, the NAVASAKTI, of the 3rd June, remarks:- Will the authorities, who say that there are no special laws for the labourers, refuse to grant police assitance to the capitalists, who, with such help, bring labourers from outside to work for them? Such assistance may no doubt be given for protecting life, but to do so, for bringing men from outside is tantamount to seeking the defeat of the labour movement. The proper course for the Government is to maintain an impartial attitude.

The labour movement.

35. The NAVASAKTI, of the 3rd June, remarks that the sittings ~~tha~~ of the Committee at Simla for the consideration of the repeal or amendment of the Press Act have caused a flutter among the Anglo-Indian papers and writes:- These papers are crying themselves hoarse that there should be some law to exercise control over the press even if the Press Act be repealed.

The Press Act.

It will be clear from this how mcuh they are interested in the liberty of Indians. Our Opinion is that there should be a separate law to exercise control over these papers for their vilification of Indians.

Stray comments.

36. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th June, publishes a communication from a correspondent, wherein the following statements find place among others:- Our land is the sacred one which could boast of patriots who gave uo their very lives for the King. Just think of the loyalty evinced by our brothers and sisters in the late war. But what are the advantages that we have gained in return for our loyalty, which was praised by all people from the Emperor downwards? They are the Press Act, the Arms Act, the Defence of India Act, the Rowlatt Act, and a host of other acts. They say that these laws are intended solely for the good of the subject.. This is like cutting the throat of a man and saying that it was done only for his own good. Consider how much of Love the Government evince thus towards its subjects. One who speakes of the highhanded and unjust acts of the Government is deemed a seditionist. For the Government to think that unarmed people like ourselves might subvert it as absurd as the statement of a person who should say that he saw a cripple flying in the air. Even as the wolf in the fable argued with the lamb, the bureaucracy are bringing forward arguments in support of their brutish conduct. .. .. The authorities were boasting that their rule was a personification of justice and that all people, except a few in towns and villages acknowledged it and evinced love towards them. But our reply should be "Your talk is blind and senseless. Even the infant in the womb in our land has realised the character of your rule. Your greed brought others down from their high position. All your mean qualities like

selfishness, going down on one's knees when in danger and feeling ungrateful thereafter, returning evil for good, wronging Indian hosts who give bread, soft-tongued deceipt and mendactiy came to light in a lurid fashion in the late war. We will not even, in future as in the past, ruin ourselves by believing you". We should show not only by our speeches but by our action especiall especially that all ther duplicity and intimidation will not hereafter avail with us. We should, further, put up a dam across the torrent of wealth incessantly flowing from our land western countries. .. .. But the Government know how to kill innocent people by firing, how to manifest their love for men who commit such havoc and how to ask us cleverly to forget the torture inflicted ~~in this w~~ by them. One cannot find such a loving Government in any land whatever in this world.

37. Referring to the joy said to have been expressed by certain papers on account of their idea that the Ali brothers will lose their influence in the political world on account of their having apologised to the Government and remarking that the brothers have already resolved not to support violence so long as the straight path is open to them and have also given their word to Mr. Gandhi accordingly, the DESABHAKTAN, of 4th June, observes:- Has the path of non-co-operation is one of self-purification, those who follow it will never persistently assert that they were right when once they discover their faults, they are cowards. On the contrary, those who are not afrain of admitting their lapses openly, will fear nothing. We therefore, confidently assert that there is nothing in the act of the Ali brothers, for their enemies to rejoice over or to laugh in their sleeves or for their friends to hang down their heads with shame.

The Ali brothers.

38. Observing that it is nothing but just that the Indians should try to win SWARAJ and live an honourable and happy

Repression in India.

life, the TAMIL NADU, of the 29th May, writes:- .. .. .. The punishments which are now being inflicted by the British Government on alleged political offenders are not only very cruel, but are also calculated to make even those, who had some faith in the British, join the ranks of non-co-operators. While Mr. De Wett, who rebelled against the English in South Africa during the late war, was pardoned and released, the High Court of Allahabad has sentenced the patriot Mr. Hamid Ahmad to transportation for life for doing Khilafat work. As it is our desire that the English and Indians should live in friendship, our our only fear is tat such punishments may give rise to a feeling of hatred. We wish to secure liberty by following the ways of truth without any tinge of hatred or disgust. We would also ask Lord Reading whether it is just and proper to imprison patriots when negotiations for peace are in progress. While the Afghans knock at the gates of the frontier, the condition in Egypt is suffocating, Ireland is throttling (England) and Mesopotamia is seeting with rage, India alone, of all the countries in the British Empire wishes to follow the path of non-violence and remain friendly to the British. The awarding of cruel punishments in this sacred land is not only foolish, but it makes us think that the Englishmen are quite devoid of statesmanship. We do not know whether the Government catch us or not.

39. The TAMIL NADU, writes under this heading:- Finding that the agitation for SWARAJ is gaining strength in India,

'Devilish work'..

on account of the dawn of the new spirit, the 'whites' who have tested the SWEETS of her hospitality are making prodigious ~~xxx~~ efforts to destroy the unity that is now appearing in the

land. There is not the slightest doubt that the Hindu-Mussalman unity has really grown in strength. The 'White' merchants and planters think that, if a split is created between the Hindus and Muhammadans, they can eat the salt of India shamelessly for some time longer.

40. The TAMIL NADU, of the 29th May, publishes stray notes on a variety of topics to the following effect: Like Mr. Thomas, his subordinates also are committing unjust acts in Malabar, which ranks first in the matter of repression in South India. In spite of patriots being constantly sent to prison, there others are fearlessly coming forward to carry on propaganda work. The only reason why the non-co-operation movement is spreading faster in Malabar than in the Tamil country is the repressive methods adopted there by the Government.

Stray notes.

The Government have, as expected by us, issued an order justifying the action of the Police at Kumbakonam. From the time the British came to India up to the 'massacre' at Kumbakonam, have the Government ever admitted that the acts of the Police or the sepoys were wrong? We can emphatically say that they have not. such things are done on account of the arrogance caused by the possession of arms and this is unbecoming of the Government. Officials who commit murder are saved, while Mr. Ismail Sahib of Salem was sentenced to two day's imprisonment for having ridden his bicycle fast. British justice is indeed Excellent!

Remarking that it is usual for the bureaucracy to set afloat baseless rumours similar to the old stroy of the man who omitted three crows, the TAMIL NADU of the 22nd May, contains the following stray notes on a variety of subject:- Before Mrs. Besant was captured (by the bureaucracy) there was a rumour that she carried on agitation in India with the help of German

money. During the progress of German war, Mr. Muhammad Ali was said to have writtedn to the Sultan of Turkey, But the Government have not, till now made any statement as to the truth of these rumours. How can they prove a thing which is not true? Still, the all-powerful Government committed the serious injustice of keeping the Ali brothers in internment for over four years. As another war seems to be ~~the~~ likely a rumour is now afloat that Mr. Muhammad Ali wrote to the Afghan Amire. Though Mr. Muhammad Ali has challenged the Government to Prove the truth of this, the latter are keeping quiet. In spite of the great disparity between India and Afghanistan in regard to their extent and population, the Afghan bogey is being constantly trotted out. There was a time when the Afghans were in deadly fear of India and Ranjit Singh, who ruled over the Punjab, once devastated Afghanistan. But the fear of Afghanistan now exhibited by the English Government, who claim to have conquered Germany, excites our laughter. What is the secret of a large army at a heavy public expense guarding theAfghants fromtier at all times? As India has no mind to be in subjection to any nation hereafter, no Indian will wish for the Afghans to conquer India. The conduct of Lord Reading, who makes a pretence of consulting the leaders with a view to understand the situation, is, therefore, not at all to our liking. We hope he will not act ridiculously like the man who thinks of sinking a well to quench the fire which was consuming his house.

.I.

42. The SWADESAMITRAN of the 6th June, publishes on account of a public meeting held at Devakottai on the 1st idem,

Mr. S.Satyamurti at Devakottai.

N.C.S.

in which Mr. Satyamurti is reported to have spoken to the ~~followin~~ following effect:- English Government trembles at the sight of truth (Mahatma Gandhi). Our only duty is to take the steps necesary for securing freedom to our country. .. .. The English

did not come here bringing money with them. Instead of our selling articles to them, it will be better to cast them into the Bay of Bengal. .. .. Even the Gods of the Trinity cannot withstand, if thirty-three crores of people attack them. If we stand firm until SWARAJ is obtained, Lord Reading will declare, even as Vibhishna sought refuge under Sri Rama, that he has come to grant SWARAJ, invite Mr. Gandhi and others and agree to abide by the terms proposed by them. .. .. If we refuse to pay taxes, Lord Willingdon will become the booking clerk at Madura, Sir Lionel Davidson will come as the Magistrate of Tirupattur and Mr. Subbarayalu Reddiyar, as the Deputy Collector of Devakkottai.

The non-co-operation movement and the Government servants.

43. Referring to the reported dismissal of a Karanam in the Godavari district by the sub-collector of Rajahmundry for evincing sympathy with the non-co-operation movement and to the members of his family having been debarred from the holding that office during his life-time, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 7th June, remarks:- Even if it be true, as alleged, that the letter which forms the subject of the charge against the Karanam was written by another to the dictation of the Karanam and that the latter's son signed, it, we cannot understand how it can legally support a charge against him. Another item of charge against the Karanam is that he fed a student non-co-operator in his house one night. The karanam while admitting this, pleads that he did not know that the student belongs to that movement which aims at the subversion of the British Government! Being the only Brahman in the village, the karanam had to feed him and the authorities consider this to be an unpardonable sin. We would not deem it wrong even if the Karanam had fed the student with the knowledge that he was a non-co-operator. ~~If it be deemed seditious to enyertain a non-co-operator.~~ If it be deemed seditious to entertain a non-co-operator

as a guest, the District Officer who gave a tea party in honour of Moulana Muhammad Ali, the principle leader of the above movement, should have been sent away to England long ago. Even Lord Reading should be considered to have committed an offence in having enetertained Mahatma Gandhi, the high priest of non-co-operation, as a guest in his Viceregal Lodge. The Government have, not, till now, decided that the movement is seditious, and so we consider the behaviour in question of the bureaucratic demigods towards petty Government servants as highly reprehensible. It is a matter for laughter to begin to punish Government servants without direct, clear and conclusive proofs for their having shown sympathy with the non-co-operation movement. We hope the Governmentof Madras will attend to this matter.

Prohibition of the meeting of the Congress Committee at Lahore.

45. Adverting to the reported prohibition, by the Deputy Commissioner, of a meeting of the Lahore Congress Committee proposed to be held for determining their ruoes and by-laws, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th June, remarks:- It is true that the Seditious Meetings Act has been brought into operation in the town of Lahore. But it can, according to law, be applied only in the case of public meetings and not of a private meeting like the one in question. Had the Deputy Commissioner studied the constitution of the Congress, he would not have stated, as he did, that it was a public meeting, as he would have then understood that there was the restriction of age among others. If, According, to him, even private meetings like this should not be held, we have only to think that his object is to suppress the right of speech altogether; and it appears to us that his order is absolutely unjust. Only Lord Reading, who is constantly asserting that he has come to India to unfurl the banner of Justice, should say under what cannon of justice this order/ should be classified.

46. Remarking that only one ortwo Christian Missionaries have come forward till now to condemn the Punjab massacre

Missionaries and the present situation.

and appreciating the truthfulness of the observations said to have been made recently at Lucknow by the Rev. Norman Benett, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th June, writes:- But we wish to know how many share his attitude in this country. It is the opinion of many of the missionaries that they have come from thousands of miles away to civilize, and impart the spiritual knowledge, to the blacks whom they consider to be low in civilization. The same opinion is shared also by the British officials and merchants and other Englishmen in Inda. It is their real idea that the words 'liberty, equality and fraternity' have their application only beyond the Suez Canal and not here; for, if it were otherwise, the Punjab massacre and all the other acts committed before and fa after that event, would never have occurred. It is impossible for the Europeans to think of and treat the Indians as their equals until and unless the Indaans attain SWARAJ. Hence it would be aseful if men like the Rev. Norman Bennet should deliver such speeches after doing all they can to assist the Indians in securing SWARAJ.

47. Referring to the information said to have been furnished by Mr. Montagu, to the Britiah Parliament that an Indian

Indians in the army.

Sepoy in the Indain army costs Rs.411 per annum, while the amount spent on a British soldier in the same army comes to Rs.1,971, the TAMIL NADU, of the 22nd May, remarks:- But the reason for this difference has not been explained by the Secretary of State. Is it because the British soldiers take five times as much food as the Indian sepoys do, or that their strength and bravery are five fold. So far as we know, the Indian Gurkha, Sikh and Pathan sepoys are said to be superior to the 'white' soldiers and the heriod deeds of the former in

in Gallipoli, Flanders and Mesopotamia during the late war have been praised by the British themselves. While it is clear that there is no difference between the two in regard to the fighting capacity, it is only the difference of colour that should account for this distinction and our idea is that SWARAJ is the only thing that can do away with such unjust differences.

The Jallianwallah massacre.

48. Observing that the very mention of the Jallianwallah makes the blood of Indians boil and that the authorities, contrary to its expectation that the advent of Lord Reading would have rid them of the mental attitude of Dyer, prove only the truth of the saying that the Ethiopian cannot change his skin and the leopard his spots, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th June, also refers to the same subject and remarks:- The authorities do not consider us to be subjects, men having rights. On the other hand, the highhandedness shown by them at Chandput proves that they deems us to be enemies and purchased slaves who attempt to get back the rights of the human beings. The labourers in Assam who had vowed not to return to the plantation to work for low wages and preferred death by starvation to the oppression to which they were subjected there, collected at Chandpur on their way to their villages. The men who, at the risk of their lives, had worked for the 'whites' for a long time and secured immense profit for the latter, had no money in their hands for the expenses of the journey, They were mere bags of bones and had nothing but rags round their loins. It is nothing but unjsut to have turned out such people in the dead of night with their children and the aged and sick. The communique of the Government of Bengal says that they refused to move. But our idea is that, if they had shown sympathy and used kind words, they would have obeyed implicitly. But, as the Commissioner and the Collector, who were puffed up with the pride of authority, had come with the express object of

stiffling the human feeling exhibited by the men on the previous night, they set the Ghurkas upon them without saying a word. The latter fell upon the men and attacked them with bayonets and the butt of their guns. Mr. Akhila Chandra Datta says that he saw with his own eyes the serious wounds on the bodies of many persons and his statement is, in our opinion, entitled to greater credit than the Government communique, which says that Mr. Dey and Colonel Shepherd asked the soldiers not to beat the men and that no more than the force which was absolutely necessary was used. But when have such communique admitted the use of more than the necessary force? The Government are never in the habit of inflicting more cruelties than are warranted by necessity! Further, the attitude of the authorities is clear from their reply to Mr. Datta's question as to why 3,000 coolies were ordered to be beaten for the action of one of them on the previous day in having raised a stick. The District Magistrate said that it was done to firghten those men, to put a stop to the strikes which were universal and to punish the non-co-operators. But an official, whose sole duty is to protect the people and promote their welfare, talks like this boldly to a patriot in this twentieth century and during the administration of Lord Reading who avows that he has come to India only for doing justice and we are quietly looking on! The Government have not the humility even to acknowledge that the action of the authorities in having set the Gurkhas upon innocent people in the dead of night is wrong. The labourers were subjected to indignity and alarm similar to those suffered at Jallianwallah though there was no loss of life. It is impossible for us to class among men those who, even after seeing this and without understanding its inner meaning, say that they will co-operate with the Government. We do not know what other action will have the effect of making them cease to co-operate with it.

50. The DRAVIDAN, of the 10th June, reverts to this subject and referring to the news of the appointment of K.P. Lakshman Rao as the District Judge of Cuddapah, remarks: It is quite undesirable that the Government Officials should still allow a preponderance of the Brahmans in service. It does not appear that the former are likely to change their methods or pay any heed to the resolutions of the Legislative Council composed of the representatives of the people.

Judicial appointments and non-Brahmans.

52. Remarking that Sir Valantine's recent letters in which he strongly condemns the Punjab 'massacre' show a considerable change in his angle of vision and referring to his condemnation of the indifference of the authorities in regard to the conduct of Dyer, the resolution of the House of Lords approving the action of Dyer and the presentation of a purse and sword to him the DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th June, observes: None will accept his statement that the Duke of Connaught's words have healed India's sore. The Punjab 'massacre' has completely shattered the faith of the Indians in British Justice. It is needless for us to say that nothing has been done yet by the British Government to restore confidence.

Sir V.Chirol's changed angle of Vision.

Referring to the same subject and remarking that Sir Valentine Chirol is not wholly an enemy of India although he has also no sympathy for Indian political aspirations, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th June, also demurs to his statement that the words of the Duke of Connaught and the acceptance by the Government of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakdas's resolution will, in course of time heal the sores of India and says:- When Sir Valentine himself admits that Indians have lost their faith in British Justice, it is a mere day dream for him to expect that the lectures of high-placed men will satisfy the Indians. There is no question of satisfying India until the system of

Government which allowed such unjust acts to be committed is completely done away with. The report of the atrocities recently committed at Chandpur shows that we cannot hope that, even under the reformed administration, such horrible acts would not be perpetrated. Lord Reading has admitted in his first speech that the people are not satisfied with the new reforms. Hence, India will never rest satisfied unless the present ~~admi~~; administration is overhauled and the Indians are granted their birthright of SWARAJ.

.I.

53. Observing that the bureaucracy who, in the beginning declared that they were going to leave the non-co-operation movement to die of itself, are now sending patriots to gaol forgetting their words and their duty, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 9th May, writes:- Some high officials are said to be deliberating in Simla as to what they should do with Mr. Gandhi. They may perhaps send him to keep company with the Savarkar brothers. But whatever they may do, the non-co-operation movement will never die. There will be no peace in the country until SWARAJ is secured and the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs redressed. The movement of Mr. Gandhi has taken deep root among the nation. If the Government should, as before, continue to think that the Congress party consists only of a few educated men whom they can afford to deal with as they please, they will meet with dsiappointment and may even lose India in the end. This apart, all our countrymen should come forward to carry out the resolutions of the Congress. If we strike at the root of the English trade, their Government will dwindle into nothing as it is the fatness of the trade that makes it run wild like an elephant in rut. But there is no use of our speaking vain words. The thing wanted is real action.

The present situation.

.C.S.

58. Adverting to the publication of summary of the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly and remarking that money appears to be spent by the Government even before the completion of the investigations of the Committee, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th June, refers to the Committee having called for the details connected with the improvement of forests in the Andamans and writes:- We cannot understand the object of the authorities in urging the improvement of the forest in the Andamans when those in this country are allowed to decay. The Committee have accepted the provision of 2 lakhs of rupees for famine-relief works in Baluchistan. But it is not known what arrangements have been made in regard to the famine prevailing in Bellary, Central Provinces and Jagannath. More than a lakh of rupees has been allotted for providing quarters for the orthodox members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, on whose account so heavy an expenditure has to be incurred. In view of the present condition of the country, we should say that the provision of 3 lakhs of rupees for the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta is unnecessary. One lakh of rupees is provided for expenses in connexion with the visit of the deputation of the Empire Parliamentary Association to this country next winter. We do not know whether it is they or ourselves that are to be benefited by this. The Committee have fortunately disallowed the 5,000 pounds proposed to be spent on the publication of the history of the Indian press;. It is indeed a matter for wonder that the authorities, who have been all along attempting to curb the growth of the Indian Press, should have been thought of writing a history of its growth. How can wolves write the history of sheep with fairness?

Expenditure of the Government of India.

GENL.

Sri Sankaracharya.

60. Referring to certain order sent by a District Magistrate to Sri Sankaracharya prohibiting him from delivering religious lectures, the GODAVARI PATRIKA, of the 17th May, observes in its leader:- .. .. .. The masses have great regard even to day for the words expressed by religious GURUS. That being the case, if the officials treat them with indifference thinking that the Penal Code will come to their rescue when necessary, it will only lead both the rulers and the ruled to trouble. .. .. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government of India to nip the evil in the bud before this bad policy is widely adopted by the local authorities. The Government of India alone is fit to check the arrogance of these officials. If no warning is given to the Magistrate for the worng done by him to Sri Sankaracharya, and the Government happen to be dndifferent in the matter, the confidence of the people in the rulers, wich has already decreased, will exist only in name, If the religious heads should only take into their head to interfere in these affairs, the officials will not get even water to drink. The country is already vexed with the local officers. The people are greatly dissatisfied with the Government. If discontent prevails as regards religious matters also, much loss may be sustained. .. .. What the District Magistrate did in relation to Sri Sankaracharya is blamable and it is ture that the latter has good cause for resentment. He must take necessary action after consultation.

Lord Sydenham.

61. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 7th June, writes in a note under this heading:- The efforts made by Lord Sydenham to imprison and punish the Indian leaders by conspiring with the Maharaja of Kolhapur only proclaim his iniquity. The letters published in the MAHRATTA CLEARLY bring out the way in which he tried to cajole the Maharaja with a view to disgrace the Indians.

We need not regret the behaviour of Lord Sydenham, who is a friend of the bureaucracy. The Indians are only sorry that the Maharaja in whose veins runs the sacred blood of Indian nation, has conspired with him. .. .. Persons like Lord Sydenham are the cause of the revolution in the Empire and not the nationalist leaders.

.I.

63. Writing in connexion with the remarks made by Sir William Vincent in the Legislative Assembly about the non-co-operation movement, the GODAVARI PATRIKA, of the 29th March, observed .. .. No body, not even Mr. Gandhi, ever asked the British people to quit this country. It was said on behalf of the people that there were defects in the system of administration which should be set right and that unless that was done, the miserable condition of the seven crores of people suffering from utter want, would not be remedied. .. .. None in the Legislative Assembly touched upon the Punjab and the Khilafat questions which are the root-cause of the non-co-operation movement. Unless the causes are removed, the effect will not disappear. .. .. The movement has also been termed mischievous. .. .. We are sorry that the members from the Punjab have too expressed their concurrence with the opinion. How can those men be called the representatives of the people? Sedition is no doubt punishable. But it is the duty of the rulers to administer the country in such a way that there may be no room for sedition. Is it not on account of horrible laws that things have come to such a pass? .. .. Here and there riots might have taken place and some people transgressing Mr. Gandhi's instructions, might have taken part in them. But, on that account, the movement should not be discredited. Peace cannot be permanently established in the country so long as the Government follow their present policy. Prosecutions and punishments cannot lead to real peace.

The Government of India and non-co-operation.

N.C.S.

67. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 23rd April, publishes in Telugu what the sister of Swami Bhagavandin, a political

Swami Baghavandin's conviction.

convict, wrote to KARMAVIRA, a Hindu paper, which contains statements such as the following:- The trial was a farce and was nominal. .. .. The people must adhere to non-violence which is the very soul of the present movement. What is the use of our turning PISHACHAS (demons) by imitating this PISHACHA (demonacal) Government which is full of wickedness, which unjustly makes the innocent, victims of rifles and does not hesitate to imprison them? If you resolved to remove the evil element in

R.A. the Government, you must also undertake and carry out the great sacrifice that SWAMI Bhagavandin commenced. .. .. My brother is resolved to starve if the Government does not grant permission for his receiving food supplies by the people. It appears that the Government will grant permission. If they do not, the Jubbalpore jail may also contribute another MacSwiny to the world to stamp out this base dispotism. .. ..

71. Writing about Mr. Gandhi's interview with Lord Reading, the GODAVARI PATRIKA, of the 31st May, observes in its leader:

The Simla Interviews.

Even if Lord Reading wants to do justice, will the bureaucracy allow him to do so? What will the Parliament say? Mr. Gandhi might have asked Lord Reading to stop the grant of pension

C.S. to General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. But we do not believe ~~the~~ that will be done. .. .. It will not do merely to repeal the Rowlatt Act and other such acts. A law must be passed to prevent the recurrence of atrocities like those which have taken place (in the Punjab). If the Punjab and the Khilafat questions are justly solved, the present unrest will mostly disappear. But it must not be supposed that, with that all the wishes of the people will have been fulfilled. It must be made clear that SWARAJ will be attained within a stipulated period The drain

of crores of Indian money must be stopped. The military expenditure must be curtailed. The educational system must undergo a thorough change. ~~It must be curtailed. The educational system must undergo a thorough change.~~ It must be made national. Only then will the slave mentality of our people be destroyed, and their angle of vision set right. .. .. India now has her hopes on Simla and London. Even though our hopes are frustrated, we should not give up our determination. Why should the people be troubled by the application of the old sections of the Penal Code? Such application of the sections 107 and 144 appears to us to be perverse. By such acts, the respect of the Government will suffer in the eyes of the people.

Religious instruction in Christian schools.

76. Referring to the religious instruction imparted to the boys in the Christian schools, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 19th June, observes in a note:- We do not know why this religious instruction should be made compulsory in the case of boys who do not want it. Those who have no objection to attend the religious classes will do so, while those who have any objection to such attendence will stay away from them. Against the acceptance of this principle by the Government of India, the Missionaries are raising a hue and cry and are asking for four years' time. May the Government of India not be cheated by the words of these missionaries! May they put their resolution into force and do what is just!

The Assam Coolies.

77. Referring to the distress of the Assam coolies, the NYAYADIPIKA, of the 7th June, writes in its leader:- The indifference and disregard shown by the Bengal Government with regard to the helpless Assam Coolies give room for misgivings. The tea-planters are Europeans and are wealthy and influential.

We are prone to surmise from the violent acts of the Gurkha sepoys, that the Government of Bengal acted in deference to the wishes of the Assam planters. While it was the duty of the Government to take the Assam coolies at Chandpur to their native land, they let loose the blood-thirsty Gurkha sepoys over them. .. .. The order from Darjiling has confirmed the suspicion of the people that the Government have put these coolies to so many hardships with a view to help the Assam planters. The Bengal Government will, at least now, free themselves from this calumy and thus strengthen the bond of love between themselves and the people.

In its leader on the distress of the Assam coolies, the DESABHIMANI, of the 5th June, makes the following observations among others:- .. .. It is oposed to justice that the Government

col. should be indifferent to the horrible suffering of thousands of poor men and show sympathy to the planters. .. .. When these horrible calamities and the unnecessary loss of life inflicted recently in Rajasahi are called to mind, a thrill passes through the hearts of the Indians. After the British Government has been well established, the sense of safety of life even among the innocent is declining. While preaching on one side that the Punjab horrors should be forgotten, they shot down without any grounds, some persons in Rajasahi. They did not come to the help of thousands of Assam coolies perishing helplessly. When the lives of the Indians are thus held as straw, which self-respecting Indian can help striving for the attainment of SWARAJ?

Non-Brahmans and Government appointments.

N.B.

80. The <u>Andhrapatrika</u> of the 10th June, refers to the appointment of Mr.K.P. Lakshman Rao as the District Judge of Cuddapah, Observes that this appointment has dissatisfied all parties, and adds:- Such lessons only teach the moral that the non-Brahman party should, at least in the future, leave off their

affinity to the bureaucracy and turn to use their power in the public cause. We have to see how the Publicity Bureau will uphold this appointment.

N.B.

82. In an article under this heading justifying the non-Brahman movement the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 11th June, contains the following among other statements:- We are not able to imagine what consideration for the party in majority there is in Lord Willingdon issuing orders as he likes in the matter of selecting candidates for high appointments, thus setting at naught customary political principles. We do not know why Lord Willingdon is still not able to understand that the present unrest in the country is due to the attempts made by the rulers to gain the approbation of all parties without joining hands with any one of them. Men like the late Mr. Gladstone said that the political principles of the party in power thus act against the wishes of the majority of popular representatives. .. .. By the appointment of Mr. K.P.Lakshman Rao, the Madras Government have preached to the people that it is more profitable to show proficiency in Tennis courts rather than in Civil Courts. He is not a practising vakil but he is an official receiving Government pay. We do not know how the Government will explain away with this fact. .. .. Nobody will object to the appointment of Mr. K.S.Menon, a barrister that has been practicing in Tellicherry for over 15 years. .. .. There is not the least doubt that the Madras Government, which was speaking much about 'eligibility', erred in appointing Mr. Lakshman Rao as a district Judge. .. .. Truth can never be hidden. We ask the opponents of the JUSTICE party to correct their mistake of supposing that the JUSTICE party is a Government party.

Truth will come out.

N.B.

90. The MANORAMA, of the 3rd June, again draws the attention of the Government to the necessity of holding an enquiry regarding the Ottapalam fracas, and observes that the silence of Government is giving rise to many misunderstandings among the people, that the report published on the subject by the Congress Committee, consisting of gentlemen named, is not likely to be made light of or disbelieved by the people, and that as this report contains serious allegations against the Police, the Government should hold an inquiry into the matter and get explanations from the Officers concerned in the affair.

The Ottapalam Fracas.

R.A.

91. In an article (contributed) published in the KERALA SANCHARI of the 1st June, the writer fails to understand why the great unrest prevailing in the country has not allayed a bit, in spite of the interviews granted by Lord Reading to Mr. Gandhi and others, and apprehends whether the non-co-operation movement is not daily gaining in strength -- although some people think -- otherwise because some of the steps taken by the Government to chek its progress are going amiss. It is of opinion that some of the actions of some Government servants after the recent Government order relating to alterations in the Government servants after the recent Government order relating to alteraions in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules seem to be ridiculous as evidenced by the suspension by Mr. Jenkins, the District Judge of Badaon, of one of his subordinates because of the non-co-operating activities of his son, and characterises the action as highly unjust. He thinks that such actions of Government servants will only tend to increase unrest and rebellion in the country, and observes that the non-co-operators should see that none of their actions goes amiss and that Government servants should watch these actions carefully at this juncture. He admits the necessity of

Unrest in the country.

N.C.S.

of awarding suitable punishment laid down by the Penal Code to those who commit atrocities, and adds that when this is justly done, there is no likelihood of its giving occasion to criticism, disgust or unrest in the country.

94. A note in the 'Review of Current events' column of the MALAYALI, of the 28th May, says:-

Repression.

Repression is everywhere in India. Whoever utters the word SWARAJ, whoever advises people not to ~~think if~~ drink liquor, or wears a Gandhi cap, is a traitor in the eyes of the Government. If any one delivers a speech, security is demanded of him, and false cases are concocted against the leaders. Members of the various communities are made to quarrel amongst themselves and respectable persons are sent to jail without trial. This is how the new Viceroy administers justice. Governors vie with one another in resorting to repression, and it is the greatest pleasure to them to hunt non-co-operators. Collectors become notorious by persecuting leaders of the people. But it is a pity indeed that the Government do not realise that this policy of repression will not terrorise the people, but will only cause great unrest amongst them.

In a long leading article, the BHAJEKERALAM, of the 11th June, points out that Governments which establish their rules on the foundation of repression, open robbery ~~and treading~~ and treading down of subject peoples into debasing slavery, whose security is based on the ignorance of the ruled are like colossal edifices of snow which melt away at the first glance of the morning sun. This is the fate that has befallen many Governments at this time. We clearly state that the present Government of India is heading towards the same fate. The policy followed by England in the matter of governing India consists in squeezing as much wealth as possible from the latter for the latter for filling the stomach, of the former, and with

and with a view to retain their hold on India the Government have introduced such laws as enable them, if necessary, to shoot down Indians like brutes, and empower even ordinary on ordinary lower able to arrest without reason for doing so. The prohibition of public speeches under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code is highly unjust. It is all said to be for the preservation of peace. But whose peace? It is quite natural that Englishmen should lose their peace of mind when they find Hindus and Muslims fighting with one mind for the attainment of SWARAJ the alleged breach of peace with has won notoriety for section 144 of the Indian Penal Code exists not in India but in Britain. It would have been quite sufficient if the Government took care that the people did not suffer hardships and atrocities at the hands of Government servants, especially of those who are Indians who live on the ~~moeny~~ money of the people. The paper adds that it has also to warn the Government of India and its shadows, i.e., the Gover ments of Native States which have been oppressing the people by eans of repressiv repressive laws, re to remember that Indians are human beings and that their soul force is invincible.

The Problem of the Khilafat and the Press Act.

95. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 11th June, concurring in theviews of a correspondent who criticises the action of the Khilafat Committee in wasting money on ordinary persons by electing them for the purpose of getting the Press Act abolished, etc., observes that the first duty of the Khilafat committees is to safeguard Islam and the Holy Places. If they have collected from (x) ~~the~~ which there may be a surplus after meeting necessary expenditure, they should utilize the balance in aid of the sufferers of Smyrna.

(x) the public an amount from

96

96. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 11th June, refutes in severe terms the rumour that Mr. Gandhi is a staunch supporter of SWARAJ, but not of the Khilafat by reproducing ~~the~~ in support of its statement Mr. Pal's speech on the subject, and observes that the Muslim community also is in favour of SWARAJ and is prepared to sacrifice life and property to attain this object, but that is the second step whereas the first step is in the direction of the Khilafat which is bound up with creed and the faith of Mussalmans, and for which they will not hesitate to lay down their lives. The writer finally requests Muslims not to be dissatisfied with Mr. Gandhi or other Hindus but to depend upon Almighty God.

Does the Mahatmaji want SWARAJ or the Khilafat?

97. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 12th June, expressing disbelief in the rumour that the Ali Brothers out of fear of the Government made their apology, refers to Mr. Gandhi's statement on the subject, and observes that they have not apologiesed to the Government in terror, but they have expressed their regret only in accordance with the 'Mahatmaji's' wish.

The secret of the apology.

Referring to the Government's announcement that they will not bring the Ali Brothers to trial the writer feels sure that by so doing the Gover ment have displayed their weakness and Lord Reading has given proof of hisnot having grasped the political philosophy of India and fears that the Viceroy cannot understand the Indian Problem, so long as some of the advisers of his predecessors remain with him. The Ali Brothers have not given any written apology to the Government nor have they asked for forgiveness. How is this possible for the Government to have accepted their apology and so readily abandoned the idea of prosecuting them.

The writer, in support of his argument, finally refers to the Ali Brothers' challenge to the Government to produce proof of their having offered an apology and throws the blame of setting afloat this rumour on certain envious and decietful persons of the community who want to usurp the place of the latter national leaders by sending the latter to jail.

The real secret is out.

98. The QUAMI REPORT, of the 13th June, contradicting the report that the Ali Brothers sought to apologise to the Governmentment, refers to Lord Reading's speech at Simla on the subject and observes that it is the diplomacy displayed by the Viceroy to gain a good name, but it is a mistake, which will be recorded in the list of egregious blunders. This sort of diplomacy can never succeed. The Ali Brothers' announcement of their disapproval of violence and their expression of regret at any of the statements which might connote violence were solely made at the request of their friends and not at the instance of Government.

In conclusion, the writer appeals to the community to be steadfast, courageous and peaceful at this trying time as the community is nearing the goal. Otherwise even existing liberty will disappear and the community will have to rue it for the period of its existence.

~~105.~~

LEGISLATION.

The Repressive Laws Committee.

105. Referring to the proceedings of the committee appointed to inquire into the repressive laws, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th June, observes:- The affairs in the country clearly show that these laws have frustrated the very object for which they were created. Even though these laws were not of any use in arresting sedition or infusing notions of loyalty in the people, they only created unrest and proved serviceable

for the protection of bureaucratic authority. It is not a very great thing to think of cancelling the laws which are against the interests of the country, at a time when the whole world is filled with an atmosphere of independence. We do not know why the committee should have inquired the witnesses in CAMERA instead of in public. We have to surmise with the EASTERN MAIL that this was done with a view to save the authorities from a searching cross-examination of their arbitrary acts and cunning schemes. While the effect of the inquiry into the Press Act is clear, we do not know why there should be any delay in the matter of making inquiries regarding the Rowlatt Act which has been a dead letter.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 25th JUNE 1921.

NO. 26 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(e) Local & Municipal.

2. The WEST COAST REFORMER, of the 17th July, writes:-

MUNICIPAL FOLLY.

The Calicut Municipality and M.K.Gandhi.

"The airy chamber of our municipal council witnessed last Saturday a demohstration of folly of which we have had warned it before. The Madras District Municipalities Act V of 1920 is believed to have furnished the council new wings with which it might soar to the lunar regions. Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Anti-British movement in India, is expected to visit our town at some unknown time and it has been conceived by a few non-co-operators that he should be presented with an address of welcome. We do not grudge Mahatma Gandhi the satisfaction of his vanity from a written tribute by his followers. We do not wish to underrate the excellent qualities possessed by Mahatma Gandhi, although we find it difficult to accept his political creed born of visionary anticipations. The question that immediately concerns us is the propriety of the step taken by the municipal council. At its last meeting

it has resolved by a majority of ten against seven to present an address of welcome to Mahatma Gandhi at his ensuing visit. .. .. Under Section 36 of the Act the Governor in Council is vested with the power to cancel a resolution of the Council and clause 2 of the same section invests the Collector with the power of suspending a resolution if he considers that immediate action is necessary in the public interests. Mr. Chathukutty one of the opposing councillors, is reported to have handed to the Chairman elected for the meeting a petition signed by nearly a hundred and fifty rate-payers protesting against the resolution. There can be no doubt that in the public interests as represented by the petitioners and the dissenting body of Councillors it is necessary to take proper steps to control the erratic proclivities of the municipal Council. We invite the attention of the Collector to the unconstitutional step taken by the Council involving the legal and practical difficulties we have alluded to and hope that in the interests of the Public he will take proper steps to remove the resolution out of the Council's minute book."

(k) General.

3. JUSTICE, of the 18th June, has the following:-

DECLARATION OF WAR?

Appointments in the Judicial Department.

The controversy which rages round the appointment of Mr. Lakshmana Rao as District ~~Magi~~ Judge raises issues which must be settled once for all. .. .. We want a declaration of policy from the highest authorities. After the way in which the Madras Government have dealt with the resolution of the Legislative Council on the question of recruitment of the of the Madras Judiciary, not a few have begun to question the usefulness of the new Reforms to the people. If the rumour that the bureaucrats wanted to ~~cat~~ teach the Legislative Council a lesson for challenging the infallibility of the high court is true, a situation has arisen In Madras which should be dealt

with satisfactorily at all events by those who are interested in the smooth working of the new Act. The Congressman, the nationalist, and the non-co-operator have all alike been doing their best to prove its utter futility. The Congress has declared that it is inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory, and that nothing else would satisfy it and Mr. Gandhi but undiluted SWARAJ. We should like to know whether the Madras Officials concerned are bent upon proving the prophetic insight of the Congress by contributing their own share to the collapse of the reforms. .. .. It is all very well for a few high officials to treat the resolutions of the Legislative Council with contempt. It may please their admirers who may call them strong men. But the danger ahead is serious enough to engage the anxious attention of those who look to the future of the country and not to personal triumphs which may after all be short-lived. We think that the quarrel which has been provoked is of such a nature as to be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for India. It must be borne in mind that this attempt to disregard the opinion of the Legislative Council is made at the very beginning of its career. It may have presented a different aspect if made long after the experiment has proved a success. But the trial of strength is provoked at the very commencement in spite of the fact that the local Legislative Council has been too generous and indulgent till now. Is the Council to take it lying down and stultify itself, or is it to assert its independence and authority?"

4. NEW INDIA, of the 22nd June, has the following:-

THE PAMPERED SERVICE.

Emoluments of the Indian Civil Service.

"Mr. Montagu is trying the patience of the Indian Public. Deeply grateful as the people should be to him for his splendid work on behalf of this country, his actions

regarding the currency and exchange situation and his attitude towards the services have almost outraged the public conscience. We are at present concerned only with the latter question and the announcement which he made the other day in the House of Commons that he has sent a despatch to India on the subject of the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service arouses the keenest apprehensions as to what is in store in respect of making further raids on the Exchequer. .. .. We must strongly denounce his fresh attempt to exploit India for the benefit of the Service and raise the salaries and pensions which were brought to the present level only a little while ago. At a time when the whole country is full of the cry that the higher services are paid at a rate which is very much greater than India can afford, it is adding insult to injury to still further add to their emoluments. .. .. Does it mean that that the Government of India have acquiesced in the new arrangements dictated by the India Office? We can hardly believe it to be the case in view of the presence of three Indian members on it and of the well-known desire of His Excellency the Viceroy to do justice to the people. The authoriites would do well to issue a a statement almost immediately as to the nature of the fresh decisions in order to clear up the doubts that will be widely created by Mr. Montagu's unsatisfactory announcementss

SER.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The SATYAGRAHA week.

NCS

26. Remarking that the 13th April 1916 was the holy day that betrayed the nature of the English bureaucratic rule to Nature's God and made mankind itself hang down it s head with shame , the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 11th April, observes:- At the very mention of that day, the Indian attains self-knowl

self-knowledge, realizes his own slavish condition, heaves a sigh and sheds tears. Then he sees with his mind's eye the path of freedom that lies open before him; his hair stands on end and his mind attains tranquility. .. .. The holy SATYA-GRAHA week is observed with a view to unite the Indians and make them concentrate all their atention upon their deliverance of Mother India. .. .. The bureaucratic demi-gods, who were afraid that their exalted positions might be affected if the Indians were allowed to have their way, had already taken a vow to strive to destroy it by their propaganda work, by patting the moderates on their back s and by flattering the ministers.

N.C.S. But they now tremble and gnash their teeth, being unable to approach the fire raised by the penance of the Indian SATYA-GRAHIS who are embodiments of truth, self-respect and patriotism. They shriek and stand aghast at their inability to suppress this flame, which leaps up with fresh vigour at showers of oblations of repressive measures. And all the great historians of the world, who witness this spectacle, consider that there will be a great change in the course of Indian history within few months.

Money compensation to the sufferers in the Punjab.

27. Remarking that it is a shame for the Government to have offered to give money compensation to those who have suffered

P.A. by the Punjab Massacre, the DHANAVAISYA OOLIYAN, of the 13th May, observes:- The money proposed to be given is only that of the Indians and not the ancestral wealth of the Officials. The Indians are able enough to acquire riches for themselves. What they want is only fair and impartial justice which bring to book the wicked demons who perpetrated that massacre.

28. Remarking that, on account of the hue and cry raised by the Anglo-Indians and their papers against the non-co-operation movement, the authorities have done some untoward acts which have served only to aggravate the dissatisfaction already existing in the country and referring to the universal expectation that the new Viceroy will pacify the people, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 2nd June, writes:- However, ever since he came to India, repression has been only increasing. Under the administration of the new Viceroy, who declared that he would rule India justly, the officials are freely resorting to repression, agains the people an their highhanded acts are causing great dissatisfaction to the Public and strengthening the cause of the non-co-operation. So long as the Viceroy does not come forward to put down such illegal acts, the unrest in the country will only be increasing. Instead of putting a stop to repression and to the counter-propaganda work of the officials, the Viceroy has begun to inquire into the grievances which led to the starting of the non-co-operation movement. It is only the schemings of the selfish Anglo-Indians that have been making the Indians become disgusted with the Government. If the Administration be carried on with due respect for the Indian people and their leaders, disloyalty can never show its head in India. Permanent peace in India is possible only when she is governed by the Indians and for the Indains.

Lord Reading.

30. The VAISYAMITRAN, of the 16th May, publishes also a speech said to have been delivered by Mr. V.V.S. Ayyar at Karaikudi, in which the following observations find place among others:- A demon is stiting upon us and enjoying life while it inflicts suffering upon us; and our wealth is being drawn off towards it through the channels of land tax, court fees and stamp revenue.

The nationalists propaganda.

.. .. Why should more money be spent now upon the army than before the war, when it is said that the British won the war? Is it for suppressing India's ~~for~~ thirst for SWARAJ or oppressing the people of Mesopotamia?.. .. .. England alone among the Allies remains obdurate in regard to the Khilafat question. The Englishmen have lost true courage and principles of statesmanship. .. .. .. Our people were killed like worms in the Punjab But, if our men had only thought of it, the English would have been crushed to a pulp. .. .. The God who destroyed Ramana is not in our temples as they have been built by slaves.

The same paper publishes again a lecture of Mr. Subrahmanya Siva at Karaikudi, in which the following sentiments occur among others.:- Our people go to the Fiji Islands and other places to earn a livelihood and suffer, a losing their honour and chastity. Are we, who cannot protect the honour of our women, men? Our women are superior to those in the western countries, who intoxicate themselves and dance. The honour of women is being violated in this country which can boast of queens of chastity. .. .. The 'white robbers' have fulfilled their long cherished idea of driving out the Khalifa. They have gone back upon the words pledged by them with a double tongue. .. .. Even Germany did not behave as cruelly during the war as the Government of the Punjab which committed the sin of killing peaceful and inoffensive people.

31.~~27~~. Indian sepoys and the national movement.

Referring to the news said to have been published in the INDEPENDENT, that two sepoys, who worked on behalf of the of the Rohilkund Distict Conference, were punished by court-Martial, the TAMIL NADU, of the 5th June, remarks;- We highly appreciate the courage exhibited by these men. Mr. Gandhi regrets that the Indian sepoys in the British army do not evince any ~~shdth~~/ enthusiasm in the national cause. There is no doubt

that India will get SWARAJ the moment our sepoys become inbued with patriotic feeling. We, therefore, hope other sepoys and civilian officials will follow the example of these two.

32. The NAVASAKTI, of the 10th June, refers to the exultation of the Besantites, the moderates and the Anglo-Indians, over the regret expressed by the Ali brothers for violence in their speeches, and remarks:- Mr. Muhammad Ali says that they did not ask pardon of any one, but merely expressed their regret to their friends and country for some words which were considered by their friends to be inconsistent with the vow of non-co-operation. The Ali brothers, we may say, are heroes and sages who sacrifice their very lives for their religion. Lord Reading, does not, perhaps, understand their mental power. He will realise, in course of time, that they are men who do not know what it is to fear. The much-talked of expression of regret of the Ali brothers has ended in nothing, and they are as loud and strong in their speeches as ever. Brethren!? Do not be under the delusion of any pardon. Wake up!

The Ali Brothers.

~~(33. The NAVASAKTI, of the 10th June, contains the following stray notes on a variety of subjects:- We are surprised at the action of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore who is r)~~

~~Stray notes.~~

33. The NAVASAKTI, of the 17th June, contains the following stray notes on a variety of subjects:- ~~(We are surprised at the action)~~ Following close upon the prohibition of the meeting of the Congress Committee at Lahore comes the news that the District Magistrate of Jullender has prohibited a similar meeting at Shakot. It does not appear that, till now, any official considered the Indian national Congress to be a seditious body. But under the new 'Just' administration, the authorities

Stray notes.

have begun to wage war against the Provincial Congress Commiittees also. All were alike holding the Congress in reppect hitherto but now -- . This is indeed the administration which has 'justice' for its basis!

It is said that, under the new 'Just' administration of Lord Reading, three changes will be introduced, viz., the abstention of the Govenment from resorting to repression so long as the non-co-operation movement steers clear of cruel acts, the abolition of repressive laws like the Rowlatt Act and the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to give the Indians a greater vioce in the administration of the country. But it will be nothing but foolish to think that such measures can satisfy India. Can they form the bases of complete self-government?

It was said when Mr. Yakub Hasan was sentenced to six months' imprisonement, that he would be released when Malabar reached a peaceful condition and that he would not be made to undergo the full term. It is now four motnhs since he was sent to prison and we ask Mr. Thomas whether peace has not yet been established in Malabar. What is the object of his being kept in the Coimbatore Jail now? If the Government do not consider it expedient to keep him in Malabar, why should they not release Him? The Government are, perhaps, taking a measure of the patience of non-co-operators.

Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of SWARAJ.

34. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th June, publishes, in Tamil, Mr. Gandhi's notes on miscellaneous subjects said to have appeared in the YOUNG INDIA, in which he reviews the progress made by the Punjab in regard to the various branches of national work, and observes that it stands in the forefront in that respect, restates the position of non-co-operators with reference to titles, courts, schools and Legislative Councils, and asserts that Indian SWARAJ means of death of the Empire and the coming

into existence of a Commonwealth.

Mr. Dey and the Government of India.

35. Referring to the news that Mr. Dey, the Commissioner of Chittagong, has been removed from the charge of that division to mark the displeasure of the Government of India with regard to his conduct at Chandpur, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th June, remarks:- If this be true, we should indeed praise Lord Reading's justice. It is a wonder that Mr. Dey, who is a Bengalee, should have thought of intimidating his poor brethren by setting the Gurkhas upon them. We think it is due to the new Viceroy that the Government of India noted the conduct of this official, notwithstanding the fact that the Government of Bengal failed to do so. We understand also that he has sent Sir Thomas Holland to render the necessary assistance to the labourers. Will the Indian Officials conduct themselves carefully at least in the future?

Miseries of plantation labourers.

36. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th June, reverts to this subject and, remarking that whether British administration in India is a rule of law or otherwise, increasing evidence is forthcoming everyday that it has come to be one conduct legally or illegally in the interests of the English race, and writes:- The unjust acts committed by the Officials at Chandpur are one of such fresh proofs. While charges should have been framed against them for having directed the Gurkhas against the labourers, many of whom were wounded as a result thereof, the Government of Bengal have after having deputed one of their own members, Sir Henry Wheeler, to make an inquiry into the matter, acquitted the officials of all blame. Sir Henry Wheeler's having been deputed to make this inquiry is as proper as it would have been if Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been appointed to inquire into Dyer's murderous acts at Jullianwallah.

The reason assigned by him for dispersing the labourers, which itself is contradicted by the evidences of the railway servant, is that they were a hindrance to railway traffic. His statement that the Government, which took action in so many ways against the labourers, did not take sides wit any party but remained impartial, leads one to conclude that the bureaucrats will not hesitate to call day as night. He has not offered by an explanation in regard to the telegram sent by Messrs. Gilburn & Co., of Calcutta to their agent at Chandpur that the Secretary to Government had ordered them not to put into waters any special steamer for the coolies and not to ussue tickets to any one of them. It is only Lord Reading, who is well versed in law, that should say whether such an administration can be said to be a rule of law.

39. Referring to a prosecution launched against some Sikhs

The Arms Act.

in Lahore for having carried arms without a licence and remarking that it is one of the natural rights of man to bear arms for defending himself from beasts of prey and from evil-doers, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th June, wants the Indians to realize that the English Government have not only destroyed their natural and acquired rights and emasculated them, ~~but have also destroyed their natural and acquired rights and emas~~ but have also rendered them powerless to defend themselves even from wild animals, and reminds them that SWARAJ is indispensable for regaining rights lost as well as for acquiring the power of self-defence.

Confiscation of a Malayalam translation of Mr. Muhammad Ali's speech.

40. Adverting to a notification in the FORT ST. GEORGE GAZETTE, announcing the confiscation by the Government ~~by the Government~~ of a Malayalam translation of a lecture delivered by Mr. Muhammada Ali, in Madras on the 2nd of April last, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th June, remarks that, while the people who heard the speech are as peaceful as ever and have not risen in war, the Government of Madras, being unable to exercise their authority against the lecturer, satisfy themselves by directing it at least against the publication which contains his speech.

Diarchy in the Government of India.

42. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th June, also refers to the same subject, and observes:- But it is not clear to us what good will result from this. Of course, certain of our lucky moderate friends may become Ministers and draw a salary of Rs.8,000 per mensem, under the Government of India also, and Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar himself may perhaps be elevated to that position. But can we secure deliverance merely by all this? Diarchy can prevent neither the present expenditure of half the revenue of the country on the army nor the other evils of a like nature. The attainment of SWARAJ is our only salvation.

Sir Valentine Chirol and the Indian situation.

43. Adverting to the concluding portion of the article on the Indian situation contributed by Sir Valentine Chirol to the LONDON TIMES, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th June, writes:- Though he admits, at least for the sake of modesty, that his inquiry may be defective on account of the hurry with which it had to be conducted, he assumes the role of an impartial observer in stating his conclusions, without bearing in mind that he has viewd matters mostly through official spectacles. He says that he never expected that the reforms would work

so smoothly in spite of the attack of evil forces. But it is a well-known fact that the unselfish leaders who are fully alive to the political conditions have discarded them intoto. Again, it requires some extraordinary boldness, indeed, say that the Legislative Council of Madras and those of the northern parts, having barbarous and shoe makers as the Legislators therein, reflect the inner spirit of the people in a large measure. Sir Valentine speaks very much in praise of the Indian Ministers and we are very glad to hear him say that the Government take them into their confidence and consult them on all matters. This reminds us of the story we have heard in our boyhood of a daughter-in-law who conducted all her household affairs under the orders of a statute of her mother-in law, which she set up for her guidance. But, if Sir Valentine should think that Indians will regard this consultation with the Ministers as a great gain, our question would be whether his inquiries were made in India or America. It is but true, as he says, that our Ministers realise fully the difficulties of the Government. But they do not know the difficulties and hardships of the Indians, nor were they appointed for that purpose! He is pleased to find a spirit of co-operation existing now in an increasing degree somewhere within the Legislative Councils and amongst the class of persons who have had a political awakening. It is not necessary to have come so far to say there is co-operation within the Legislative Councils; but Sir Valentine Should have had with him a wonderful magnifying glass to discover the existence of a love of co-operation and a hatred of non-co-operation among the class of persons ~~among~~ having a political spirit. He says that the non-co-operation movement has resulted in one good ting, viz., that of having made sensible men realise that t e British connexion is not only profitable but also indispensable to India. We would have also agreed with him in the view if he had stated "selfishmen" instead of "sensible men." He adds that the reactionary and revolutionary irreconcilable

irreconcilables hate the British Connexion only because of their jealousy of the high character and righteous principles of the West. We make no remark other than that we rejoice at his characterising the western political system, which permits the sale of opium and opening of arrack shops, as one embodying high character and righteous principles. He says further, that the Khilafat agitation is only a spurious one and that the talk of the Hindu-Muslim unity is but a thin veil to cover the deep-seated hatred within. He need not have wasted so much of ink for this, as the days when it was possible to part these two friends by such means have passed long ago. But if he should imagine that the Khilafat agitation is fictitious and instil that idea into the English nation also, future history wil l record him as a traitor to the British Empire. The Khilafat affair is the vital chord of the Muslims, and, so long as the Indian Muslims are alive -- and the non-co-operating Khajis and Shahids amongst them are showing every moment that they are not dead -- they will not fail to destroy the efforts of the Europeans. to do away with the Khilafat. And the fact that the Hindus also are prepared to render them all necessary help in this matter will be clear even from the resolutions of the Bombay Labour panchayat. We would, therefore, warn Englishmen against being deluded by the words of Sir Valentine Chirol. He says that, if Englishmen begin to treat te Indians in future as slaves, they will not only be pitched into the quicksands of racial warfare and incessant riots, but such conduct will also be dishonourable on their part. But we are not bold enough to think tat the Englishmen will refrain for adopting a particular system of Government merely on the ground of the dishonour attaching thereto. It may however, be expected that they will strive to mend their conduct when Sir Valentine Chirol, and emissary of their own, has declared that the adoption of this system would land them only in the quicksands of statesmanship

But we have our own doubts as to whether this inborn racial arrogance of Englishmen will soon undego a change. Anyhow, it is but certain that if they do not quickly change their angle of vision, the Empire will begin to shake to its very foundations.

44. Adverting to the reply of Mr. Montagu to a question

India's status of equality in the British Empire.

In Parliament, that the aim of Sir William Meyer, on whom rests the responsibility of purchasing stores for India, was to buy railway materials solely from British companies in consideration of Imperial interests, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th June remarks:- Our friends know that India has attained greatness ~~at~~ all at once. British statesmen incessantly assert that she has attained a status of equality in the British Empire and that her~~is~~ interests will not be allowed to suffer in consideration of those of any other country. But let us see how far this is followed in practice. The above party reply ~~to~~ of Mr. Montagu means that articles which can be purchased in Belgium or Germany for Rs.100 will have to be got from Britain for Rs.150. Who can deny that India has indeed attained equality in the British Empire.

49. The HITAKARINI, of the 6th June, gives in Telugu an

Non-co-operation:- Who started It?

article from the MAHRATTA citing instances in which the Government set at naught public opinion, inferring therefrom that the Government was the first to inaugurate non-co-operation in a 'covert' way, and declaring that it is unjust on their rate non-co-operation 'covert' way and declaring that it is unjust on their part to lead a campaign against the 'open' non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi and that if the authori~~t~~ties expect co-operation they must themselves first adopt it.

Referring to the rumour that Lord Reading sympathises with non-co-operation movement, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th June, observes in its leader:- We do not know why it was alleged as Mr. Gandhi's statement that Lord Reading sympathises with the non-co-opeation movement in an interpellation put to Mr. Montagu on the subject in the Parliament,. The Anglo-Indian party always create some cause for a quarrel and try to bring about discord. The repressive policy adopted all over the country clearly shows that Lord Reading has not supported the non-co-opeation movement. In some form or other, repression is being carried on in all provinces. This policy clearly manifest that the rulers have not yet been rid of their bureaucratic ideas. Lord Reading has been quietly observing all this repression being carried on. To say that he sympathises with the non-co-operation movement is foolish. Whatever may be the view of Lord Reading, the people must calmly strive to attain SWARAJ. Only then will their wishes be fulfilled.

53. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 16th June , writes in a note:- Even though the people are adopting non-co-operation in an extremely peaceful way, still the local authorities here and there are provoking them, by entertaining groundless fear and so invoking the aid of the police. .. .. This use of violence by the authorities has created disgust in the minds of some people, and they are eager to put into force the item of civil disobedience also. .. .. The present state of things clearly manifests the way in which thestream of the spirit of independence, flow.

Civil Disobedience.

55. Referring to the rumoured appointment of Mr. Masilomony Pillay as the High Court Judge and the 'whisperings' of the non-Brahman party with regard to that matter in spite of his

High Court Judgeship and Mr. Masilamony Pillai;

being himself a non-Brahman, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th June, remarks:- When there is not the approval of the leaders the appointment either of a Brahman or a Non-Brahman is viewed in the same light.

The NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 16th June, referring to the Filling up of the vacancy of the High Court Judgeship caused by the retirement of Mr. Sadasiva Ayyar, suggests certain names and recommends the appointment of a non-Brahman of the JUSTICE party in preference to Mr. Masilomony Pillai, who, the paper says, identified himself with the Presidency Association and sided the Brahmans.

56. Regarding the question as to whether or not the Ministers gave their assent to the appointment of Mr. K.P.Lakshman Rao as the District Judge, the NYAYA DIPIKA, of the 15th June, remarks:- We do not suppose that the Ministers have supported, in the least, the appointment of Mr. K.P.Lakshman Rao. If they had given their assent to the appointment, we would not have hesitated to condemn their action also. From what we could see, It would appear that the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar did not consult either the Ministers or the other Councillors in this matter. It is audacious to think that the Ministers consented to the appointment in spite of the statement made by the Hon'ble K.V. Reddi Nayudu in his speech at ~~Vizayanag~~ Vizagapatam that there was no discord whatever between the Ministers and the Executive Council Members. .. .. The Hon'ble M. Ayyangar said in his speech in the Legislative Council that he would create in the Brahman a dislike for Government appointments. ~~Did he counsel Mr. Lakshman Rao?~~ Did he counsel Mr. Lakshman Rao? Did Mr. Lakshman Rao pay heed to it? .. ..
A rumour is afloat that the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar has managed to appoint him at a time when His Excellency, the Governor, some members of the Council and the Ministers were

What is the mistake?

~~Were absent. It is desirable that~~

Were absent. It is desirable that Mr. Ayyangar himself should clear the doubts on this point. .. .. The Government will meet with critical situations in the future. If the Government do not change their attitude towards the non-Brahmans, we suggest that the Ministers and the non-Brahman people in general should also change their policy as regards the political administration, and work independently for self-protection.

60. The HITAKARINI, of the 13th June, describes the distress of the Assam coolies somewhat in the same strain as the article on the subject in the Kistnapatrika, of the 28th May, an abstract of which appears on page 696 of the weekly Report.

The distress of the Assam coolies.

The same paper reports the conversation about the subject between Mr. Akhilchander Datt and Mr. K.C.D. and remarks that these horrible acts almost find a parallel in those of the Jallianwallahbagh.

63. Referring to the acquittal of Mr. Coal by Mr. Hudson, the District Magistrate of Poona, of the charge of having murdered a ryot while he was out hunting, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 15th June, writes to the following effect:- Such is the course of justice. The Europeans who commit murders are acquitted. The life and honour of the Indian is so lightly treated. Experience shows that the principle of equality of races promulgated by Lord Reading is observed only in principle and not in practice.

Shooting case of Poona.

1969/RL/85
4/7 2013 RL
1961/RL/85
567/RL/66
1046/86
1215/86
R4/18 /RL